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Attitudes to Nationality in Scottish Historical Writing From
Barbour to Boece

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Summary

The historical narrative constructed by John of Fordun in the last quarter of the fourteenth century was used as an outline by the majority of Lowland historians for the next century and a half. Only the earliest of the authors studied, John Barbour, can safely be said to have escaped being influenced by Fordun's Chronica; even Andrew of Wyntoun and the other vernacular authors, generally more independent than those who wrote in Latin, took some of Fordun's material. In the sixteenth century, John Major tried to cast aside the traditions inherited from Fordun, but his history was as unpopular as his proposal for union with England. On the other side of the debate which must have flared up after Flodden, Boece turned away from Major's proposals, took up the cherished traditions, and demanded that the Scots defend their independence as they had always done.

Although most of their narratives were based on the same material, the authors' reorganization of it, what they chose to add or omit, is a reflection of their attitudes toward their nation or kingdom and of how they saw themselves within it, how they envisaged the relationship between the king and the kingdom, and their opinion of their nation. These attitudes varied from author to author, and there was seldom a neat progression from first to last thanks to the differences in personality, background, and circumstances. One broad change during the period studied was in the attitude toward the king. For Fordun, to be a Scot meant to be loyal to the person of the king, the cornerstone on whom the welfare of the kingdom depended; later authors divorced the person of the king from the crown and thought in terms of loyalty to the kingdom, state or nation. Another striking change came just with the last author to be discussed, Boece. Until his work was published, there had been no mention of a Golden Age or of such a

retrogression by the Scottish nation as he harped upon. His sense of insecurity and false bravado had had no place in the earlier narratives whose authors were not only proud of their nation's independence, but were sure the Scots had the strength to maintain it.

Preface

I would like to thank a few of the many people who have helped in the preparation of this study, principally, my supervisor, Mr. Edward J. Cowan, for all his help and patience. Professor Gordon Donaldson gave much useful advice, and like Mr. Cowan, he read the draft of the study. Dr. John Bannerman answered innumerable questions about the Highlands and the Gaelic sources of the period, and Dr. Donald Watt answered almost as many queries about Walter Bower and his histories. Dr. Ian B. Cowan provided many pointers and several references to material in the Vatican Archives, and Dr. John Durkan helped to sort out some of the manuscripts. Mrs. Sunny Stewart helped with the typing, and the typescript was proofread by Miss Pauline Scott. Finally, I would like to thank my parents, Charles and Jean Drexler, for helping to make the project possible in more ways than one.

As far as possible, I have left the spelling as found in the manuscript and printed sources in both Latin and Scots. In the Latin quotations, I have interchanged "v" and "u", "i" and "j", where necessary to make the passages more readily comprehensible, and, for the same reason, I have capitalized some of the proper names. Similarly, in the Scots passages, I have rendered þ and "y" (for thorn) as "th" and "z" (for yogh) as "y".

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Introduction

"Storyis to red ar delitabill,
Suppos that tha be nocht bot fabill.
Than suld storyis that suthfast wer,
And tha war said on gud maner,
Haf doubill plesans in hering.

Tharfor I wald fane set my will,
Gif my wit nicht suffis thartill,
To put in writ ane suthfast story
That it lest ay furth in memory
Sa that na tym of lenth it let
Na ger it haly be foryhet." 1

Of the historians to be studied here, only Andrew Wyntoun would have wished to match Barbour's enthusiasm for history as entertainment. Most stressed the didactic purpose of their work, and indeed, one of the few things on which this collection of authors agreed was the importance of the lessons which could be drawn from history. Blind Hary, one of the few historians who did not address their works to the king, frankly stated that he wanted his nation to be warned by the examples of their ancestors:

"Our antecessowris that we suld of reide
And hald in mynd, thar nobille worthi deid
We lat ourslide throw werray sleuthfulnes,
And castis ws euir till vthir besynes." 2

On the other hand, John of Fordun claimed to have compiled his Chronica in the hope that the Scottish kings would emulate their glorious predecessors.³ As a theologian, Major was not satisfied with just recounting the exploits of the ancient Scots for the young James V to admire; as he explained, in the Historia the king could discover not only what had taken place, but also what should have happened, and would learn as if from his own experience:

"id vero in omnibus praesertim ambiguis maximo studio duxi
ascribendum, ut ex huiusce historiae lectione non solum
quid gestum sit, sed etiam quomodo gerendum sit perspicias,
idque tantilla lectione calleas quod tot seculorum
experientia si ea vivere datum fuisset, vix agnoscas." 4

Hector Boece was less ambitious than his contemporary, John Major. He simply reminded the king of the great merits of histories, in a

passage translated here by Bellenden with which his fellow historians would have agreed whole-heartedly:

"Thairfore, my soverane, I dare baldly afferme no othir besines sall be mair fruitfull to your hienes, than frequent reding of thir, and siclike historyis. For sic thingis sall nocht onely move you to imitation of virtew, bot sall infound na les experience and wisdome than ye war travellit throw the warld, or agit be lang proces of yeris." 5

A rather different view of the purpose of history was put forward by Hume Brown. He considered the impossibility of any historian's detaching himself from his own preconceptions "an unfortunate disability"; the historian's "temperament, his own sympathies and prepossessions, his own vision of life ... create an atmosphere around him through which he sees, not the real lineaments of the past, but a spectral illusion which he mistakes for reality."⁶ This subjectivity, dismissed by Hume Brown, is rather to be seen as offering insights into the values of the historians to be considered here who could not prevent their personal preferences colouring their narratives. In this way, they inadvertently provided evidence for the study of the opinions reflected in their works.

Historical works, including early annalistic compilations and chronicles such as those of Melrose and Holyrood had, of course, been produced in Scotland before John Barbour wrote the Bruce in 1375. But these early works are few and far between, and Scottish medieval historiography is undeniably poor in comparison to that of other countries.⁷ The Wars of Independence clearly took their toll; those medieval historians who took up this subject at all blamed the English, and particularly Edward I, for having stolen or destroyed the early historical works in their bid to control Scotland. This story appeared as early as 1321 when the Scots complained that Edward had ransacked their castles, monasteries and any other places where he could find documents proving Scotland's independence.⁸ But a number

of volumes have disappeared since that time. Fordun referred those of his readers who wished to study Baldred Bisset's *Processus* to Alan of Montrose's pamphlet,⁹ now lost; fifty years later, Andrew Wyntoun mentioned works by Fordun's contemporaries which are no longer extant.¹⁰ Natural and man-made catastrophes must have brought about the destruction of many early manuscripts, unless it is to be assumed that the Scots were, indeed, centuries behind their neighbours in historical writing.¹¹

From the late fourteenth century, Scottish historical works of various kinds become far more numerous. John of Fordun's Chronica, appearing circa 1385, initiated a distinctive tradition in Scottish historiography. All subsequent writers were, to a greater or lesser degree, dependent upon or influenced by Fordun's work. Walter Bower's continuations of the Chronica, and the redactions of these works such as the Book of Pluscarden, were most closely related to the Chronica tradition, though each had its own particular slant. What might be distinguished as the vernacular, or non-Latin, tradition was introduced by John Barbour, continued by Andrew Wyntoun, and followed by Blind Hary.

Since all these authors had their own subjective approaches to their material, it is possible to note differences of emphasis and selection which reflect their predilections and interests. These, in turn, are evidence of their conception of the nation and of the objects of their loyalty, in other words, their sense of nationality. Certain basic assumptions distinguishable in the earlier authors were to be challenged in the early sixteenth century by Major and Boece. It seems that the defeat at Flodden had impressed upon some Scots, at least, the need to reconsider their nation's future while studying its past.

Each of the historians will be studied individually, with attention given to their idiosyncracies as well as their relationship to the tradition established by Fordun. In this way, it will be possible to discover, to some extent, what portions of the inherited historical material each considered most important and what he thought was particularly, or peculiarly, of Scottish interest. This, in turn, throws light on the authors' attitudes towards their nation. All of them conceived of themselves as members of a nation self-contained within the kingdom, and recognized that this nation was readily distinguishable from all outside its borders. Thus, their sense of nationality was not merely a sense of national identity limited to the acceptance of a common past and culture, for they thought of their nation primarily in political terms.

The historians were divided over their conception of the relationships between the component parts of the kingdom. Barbour, Fordun and those most dependent on them, emphasized loyalty to the person of the king, and saw themselves and their compatriots principally as subjects of their king. Gradually, another line of reasoning came to the fore; its exponents supported the monarchy but stressed concern for the commonweal over protection of the person of the king. Their different priorities affected their vision of their nation. For some, the Scots were a group of people united by unswerving loyalty to their king, while for others, the nation was held together by the monarchy and concern for the common good.

The necessity of maintaining Scottish independence was something on which all the historians, except Major, agreed. Identification with an independent kingdom can be traced at least as far back as the Wars of Independence when some Scots who had previously fought for their legitimate king, Balliol, were prepared to switch their

allegiance to Bruce, either because they were his kin or in his meinie, because they were "so devoted to the ideal of an independent Scotland that they were prepared to pay the heavy price of overthrowing strict legality (or both)."¹² The idea that the Scots always had been and always would be independent seems to have been essential to most Scots' vision of the nation, besides being a source of great pride to them. Fordun had compiled the Chronica in order to establish the historical precedents for Scottish independence, and at least as far as the Scots themselves were concerned, he had succeeded. Even the sceptical Major was convinced the Scots had always been independent, but he was the first to question whether it was truly in the Scots' best interests to stay that way.

Having said all this, the question remains as to how representative the attitudes found in these historical works were of contemporary opinion, considering that the authors could not even agree amongst themselves. These narratives could not help but reflect their own times any more than the authors could insulate themselves from their environment. Wittingly or not, they adapted their narratives to suit themselves and their audience.

"One cannot hope for accuracy when dealing with a
past so remote and with authorities so antiquated."
-Livy

John of Fordun's Chronica Gentis Scotorum

Almost nothing is known about the sceptical chronicler¹ who compiled the earliest of the general histories to be studied here, the Chronica Gentis Scotorum. Johannes de Fordun left only his name in an acrostic at the start of his work:

"Incipies Opus Hoc Adonay Nomine Nostri.
Exceptum Scriptis Deregat Emanuel.
Fauces Ornate Ructent Dum Verbula Nectant." 2

Otherwise, he has vanished. This handicap did not prevent his editors and continuators from attempting to fill in his biography in greater or lesser detail.

Most of the biographers base their works on statements found in the various manuscripts of Walter Bower's Scotichronicon, and especially on those in his Book of Cupar, completed by Bower before 1449. In it he described how "that ferocious torturer, Edward, ... the king of England called Langshanks and tyrant", stole the historical materials gathered for the debate between Bruce and Balliol over the crown, and destroyed them. Eventually, he divided the Scottish nobility amongst themselves and took control of the kingdom. Knowing that the Scots could use their ancient writings against him, he had these chronicles collected and either brought them to England or had them burned:

"cognoscendi quis eorum per vetustorum grammatum indagationem plenior in regno vindicare poterat facultatem, rimatis regni cunctis librariis et ad manus ejus receptis authenticis et antiquatis historiarum chronicis, aliquantas secum et ad Angliam abstulit, reliquas vero flammis incinerandas despicabiliter commisit." 3

It seems that Edward had not been thorough. He missed a few manuscripts which were later gathered together by "the venerable priest, John of Fordun, a Scot by name", who, moved by patriotic zeal, continued his studies in England and neighbouring provinces, as well as in his homeland, collecting the erstwhile lost material

into five books of delightful stories of the Scots.⁴ Bower greatly admired his predecessor, and took time to describe Fordun's labours in some detail provided either by his own fertile imagination or by his almost inexhaustible store of popular lore. Fordun, he claimed, had travelled on foot through Britain and Ireland like a proof-laden bee, conversing and arguing with historians while examining their books, taking in all that he could find and finally producing a history of the Scots up to the death of David I:

"Idcirco et ipse pedester, tanquam apis argumentosa, in prato Britanniae et in oraculis Hiberniae, per civitates et oppida, per universitates et collegia, per ecclesias et coenobia, inter historicos conversans et inter chronographos perendinans, libros eorum annales contrectans et cum eis sapienter conferens et disputans, ac tabulis sive dipticis quae sibi placuit intitulans, tali fatigabili investigatione, quod non novit invenit atque in sinuali suo codice, tanquam in alveario, inventa, quasi mallifluos favos accurate congressit, et ipsa, ut praemisi in quinque libros, usque ad mortem sanctissimi regis David filii sanctae Margaretae, eleganter intitulavit". 5

The monk responsible for the abridgement of the Scotichronicon done for the Carthusians at Perth described Fordun simply as "venerabilis vir Dominus Johannes Fordoun, presbyter".⁶ The Black Book of Paisley, copied between 1449 and 1455, added that Fordun was "capellanus ecclesiae Aberdonensis";⁷ this was not copied into the later manuscripts of Bower's work because this text was not one of those used to make the still extant copies of the Scotichronicon.⁸

Using this information, later authors speculated about Fordun's origins and career. Thomas Gale, the editor of the first printed copy of Fordun, stated that those who had confused the historian with John, abbot of Fordham, had erred, and in his brief account he cited William Camden's statement that the town of Fordun had been his birthplace.⁹

Thomas Hearne supplied a lengthy description of Fordun's studies and travels. He believed Fordun had been an extremely judicious man,

so, to Hearne, it seemed unfair that his continuator, Bower, had inserted fables and similar trifles into Fordun's account:

"Fordunus vir erat iudicio acerrimo, nugisque anilibus ... Chronicon foedari noluit. Injuste igitur id genus fabulas locis aliquammultis textui inseruit interpolator, nulla adhibita monitione, eas plane suas non Forduni esse." 10

Fordun, a busy chaplain at Aberdeen,¹¹ had not graduated from any school. Still, his great learning and holiness made him famous.¹² He had travelled throughout England consulting not only tables and books, but also ancient ruins and had conversed with learned men,¹³ probably returning to Scotland laden with charters and books.¹⁴ Hearne supplied Fordun's itinerary through England and commented upon the sources he had used, including inscribed stones¹⁵ and coins.¹⁶ All this embroidery was derived from Bower's fairly simple statements.

Goodall was not so imaginative in his introduction to Bower's Scotichronicon; he simply repeated that Fordun had been a priest and a canon of Aberdeen, and had been born in the town of the same name in the Mearns.¹⁷

Unlike his successors, notably Bower and Major, Fordun never referred to his home or to events in his childhood. Even if he had not, in fact, been brought up in the town from which he took his name, it can still be safely assumed that he was from some part of the Lowlands, considering his bias towards reporting events from that area and his virulent dislike of the Highlanders. The only other evidence from the Chronica of any use in identifying Fordun is his claim that he had been given the genealogy of David I found in his narrative by Cardinal Walter Wardlaw.¹⁸ From this, and the references in the Bower manuscripts, William Skene decided that Fordun had been a chantry priest of the cathedral of Aberdeen¹⁹ who had written the final version of his Chronica between 1384, the year in which he says Wardlaw

was made a cardinal,²⁰ and 1387 when Wardlaw died, for if the Cardinal had already died when Fordun wrote about his installation, this would certainly have been mentioned. As the latest entry in the "Gesta Annalia" concerned the French expedition in 1385, Skene was probably correct in assuming that Fordun had died soon after that date, "as there is no trace of anything ... of a later date, and no mention of his name after that year."²¹

There is no mention of Fordun's name before that year either. While Hearne's itinerary is open to question, there is no reason to doubt Bower's account of Fordun's travels. Edward I had collected relevant sources when making his inquiry into the rights of the competitors in the dispute over the kingdom.²² Even if Edward did not steal or destroy these materials as Bower alleged, the Wars of Independence brought about the loss of many ancient histories. It is therefore not difficult to imagine that Fordun needed to travel abroad to do his research.

Skene limited Fordun's period of travel to between 1363 and 1385 by examining the extant manuscripts of the Chronica.²³ These show that Fordun had written part of the history before he departed, then expanded and revised this sometime after his return to Scotland.²⁴ Once David II had been ransomed, the English king declared that all Scottish students were welcome;²⁵ Scottish scholars began to travel to England, with the honour of being first going to John Barbour.²⁶ The majority of those who were granted safe-conducts to study were allowed to go to Oxford or Cambridge for one or two years, though there are rare examples of scholars who were granted permission to go wherever they pleased.²⁷ It is tempting to identify Fordun as one of the many Johns who were allowed to travel to England, or to place him in Cardinal Wardlaw's retinue when he went to England and Europe as a

student, ambassador, and pilgrim.

Many of the scholars who were granted safe-conducts were associates of Wardlaw either as students in France or as ecclesiastics and royal servants in Scotland,²⁸ and perhaps it was while studying that Fordun became acquainted with the Cardinal. There is also the possibility that one of the clerics at Aberdeen who worked with Wardlaw, perhaps Gilbert Armstrong²⁹ or Bishop Adam Tynningham,³⁰ was responsible for introducing them. Fordun's status could not have been as obscure as the silence of the records implies; his work was sufficiently respected for one of the foremost contemporary Scottish churchmen to wish to help him.

We are left with a cleric from the Lowlands, possibly a chantry priest at Aberdeen, who first wrote before 1363, then continued his work between 1384 and 1387³¹ after studying abroad, and who died sometime after 1385. If he did travel specifically to gather historical materials, then Fordun is the only writer in this study who was primarily a student of history.

. . .

It is not surprising that someone who had probably lived through the civil wars between Edward Balliol's supporters and those of David Bruce, and had more than likely been regaled since infancy with stories of the first Wars of Independence, should have had a strong enough sense of nationality to set himself the task of rebuilding his nation's history as Fordun was supposed to have done, especially if that person were a cleric in "one of the most powerful and consistent supports of Scottish nationalism",³² the Scottish church. It has been suggested that "the main stimulus behind the literary creativity of John of Fordun, John Barbour and Walter Bower was surely a patriotism inspired by the heroic struggle of the Scots nation in the days of

Wallace and Bruce, Thomas Randolph, James Douglas and Andrew Moray."³³

Fordun knew the pitfalls he would face. For instance, he was wary of the contradictory versions of the same source which were often due, he explained, not to the holy historians themselves, but to transcribers of rival nations.³⁴ The reader should not be surprised by this, for even the accounts of the ancients were inconsistent.³⁵ Usually Fordun combined his sources to suit himself, omitting those with which he did not agree, although occasionally he did quote an author only to contradict him. When confronted by irreconcilable sources, he sometimes invited the reader to correct him, as in his discussion of the Pictish kinglist:

"Et quia de tanto suae resignationis annorum numero nonnulli musitant, placuit ut amborum regum annua computatio correctioni lectoris, inde veritatem percrutantis relinquatur."³⁶

According to Skene, Fordun's first idea was probably "to compile a history of the kings of Scotland descended from Queen Margaret, in order to show that they truly represented the Saxon Royal line."³⁷ In part of this early work, Fordun expanded on this particular theme in an address to the Scottish kings who, he said, should praise God that they have come from such glorious roots. By divine grace, the two royal lines which previously He had not allowed to live together in peace were now united in one prince, as the Chronica would demonstrate. The narrative would be useful since, to avoid degeneracy, the kings of Scots should study and emulate the warriors of the island, both Scots and English, although from the rest of the text, one suspects that Fordun wanted his kings to "follow in the footsteps" of their Scottish forefathers in particular:

"Cum in vobis, Scotorum o reges, vestrae propriae generationis simul et Anglicae, prout scriptis superius clarissime patet, et in hiis etiam infra patebit sequentibus, lineae legales globatae convenient, in quibus Scoti generis nostri quosdam actus regios ac virtutes legeritis, modo consequenter et hic ..

itaque regum nostrae generationis Anglicae caritatis opera quaedam, et actus bellicos, de Baldredi vel Etheldredi Rivallis abbatis chronicis breviter excerptos, nobis inscribere placet, ut nunc illorum, ut nunc istorum veterum avorum ad placitum historias legendo, licet breves, laetis cordibus exultantes Deum laudetis, quod ex tam gloriosis conjunctis radicibus processistis. Ista vero duae regales lineae, quibus inhabitandum olim insulae latitudo pace concordii non suffecerat, unius nunc persona principis, divina disponente gratia, nulli dubium in unum conjunctae requiescunt. Earum ergo radicum genitae propagines vestrum est, ut non degeneres, quod absit, a radicibus acerbos et inutiles producere fructus, sed dulces et sapos, ac victoriosae pugnatricis, insulae, Scotorum, videlicet, et Anglorum, rutilantis militiae prosequi vestigia studeatis." 38

When he expanded his work, Fordun placed this address just after David I's genealogy, and it is followed by a short resume of the reigns of the kings of England introduced by "Sequitur Christianorum regum Angliae nostrae generis linealis", the Christian kings of England of our line.³⁹

Fordun was not the first to claim the English throne for the Scots. In a document compiled for use in the negotiations with the English at Bamburgh in 1321, the Scots made much of this claim, repeatedly stating that Scottish kings from Malcolm III to Alexander II had invaded England in pursuit of their right.⁴⁰ This had been brought to them by Margaret, the true heir to the English kingdom:

"Mortuo quippe Edgardo Ethelingo fratre suo absque liberis, et Cristina sorore sua simul mortua, habitu tamen sanctimonialium prius assumpto, ius hereditatis regni Anglie descendit ad Margaretam ipsam predictam." 41

Fordun retained the negotiators' attitude; he must have enjoyed showing that not only did the English Edwards not have any right to Scotland, but the Scottish kings, the descendants of Margaret, were rightfully heirs to England, the Norman Conquest notwithstanding.

. . .

Fordun chose three words, predominantly, when referring to the Scots: gens, natio, and populus. (See Table 1) By definition,

the members of a gens are united, in theory at least, by common history, traditions, and customs. For Fordun, language was an especially important factor in defining the gens. When describing the destruction of the Picts by Kenneth mac Alpin, Fordun explained that not only the kings and leaders had been destroyed, but also the Pictish line and language, so many believed that the ancient writings about them were apocryphal:

"Sic quidem non solum reges et duces gentis illius deleti sunt, sed etiam stirps et genus, adeo ydiomatis sui lingua, defecisse legitur, ut quicquid ex eis veterum reperitur in scriptis fictum credatur a pluribus, aut apocryphum". 42

By saying that the Picts and Scots were so closely allied as to be almost of one gens, Fordun stressed the strength of the bond,⁴³ as well as that between the allies beaten at the battle of Brunanburh who were united as one: "Northumbriae quidem gentes et Cumbriae, Scotis et Danis jam diu fideliter tamquam una gens conglutinatae".⁴⁴ Natio is roughly equivalent in meaning to gens, stressing the link between individuals through birth, as when William Douglas was described as natione Scotus.⁴⁵

Somewhat incongruously, the Scots, themselves a gens, were divided into smaller gentes who, though separate and unique, were still, in Fordun's eyes, undeniably Scots. The Scottish nation had been formed, originally, by a combination of two gentes, the Greeks and Egyptians; for all that these came to form one gens, they never quite became indistinguishable, and Fordun spoke of each as a nation, the insulana or montana gens, and the gens maritima.⁴⁶ Later immigrants to Moray formed a separate gens⁴⁷ until they were forcibly amalgamated into the Scottish nation.

Fordun used gens most frequently to describe the unit formed by the Scots in the earlier parts of his work covering the period before the Scots had settled in Scotland; once they had established their

kingdom, he preferred to refer to the kingdom rather than to the people. When Fordun did use gens in the later part of the narrative, it emphasized the emotional link between the members of the same nation, as in the entry for 1335 when Andrew of Moray, the earl of March and William Douglas hastened to face death in battle rather than see their nation suffer:

"Hii vero tres cum suis complicitibus, diris cruciatibus civium dolentium ex corde compatientes, magis elegerunt mori in bello, quam videre mala gentis suae, atque uno consensu atque concupiscenti animo pio redemptione servitutis se dantes periculo, quasi ursi vel leones, raptis catulis, saeventes, ad bella properabant." 48

By that time, everyone in the kingdom was a Scot, whatever their background or class; the army Edward I faced at Falkirk had been drawn from tam procerum quam mediocrum gentis Scoticanae.⁴⁹

Populus was applied to a variety of groups within the gens: the commons, the laity, and the Christians. Fordun was not precise in differentiating between a gens and a populus; nations like the Egyptians or Picts could be either.⁵⁰ Similarly, the Highlanders and Lowlanders were called both in the same passage.⁵¹ It is perhaps significant that in this passage, Fordun consistently chose gens except when he commented on the Highlanders' beauty, so while the gens had good and bad traits, the Highlanders were, by nature, a populus satis elegantis figurae generaliter.⁵² Fordun even explained that when Carausius was king of the Britons, the Scots and Picts agreed to join his war against the Romans because they had been made unus quasi ... populus.⁵³ All this is a reflection of Fordun's identification of a people united by blood with those who lived within the same kingdom, although according to their classical definitions, gens and populus were supposed to distinguish between these two:

"gens potius pertinet ad homines sanguinis atque originis nexu in unum comprehensos, contra 'populus' ad eos, quos una eademque congregat res publica." 54

But,"to the great despair of historians, men fail to change their vocabulary every time they change their customs";⁵⁵ to Fordun, gens and populus, the inhabitants of the same state, had come to mean the same thing.

Turning from the people to the land, the more important words chosen by Fordun were terra, patria, and regnum; as with gens and populus, the lines between them are not distinct. Terra generally refers to the soil, not the country or homeland. But it seems that it shares this sense with patria, as when Malcolm Canmore told MacDuff to lead him back to "terram meam, terram quam dedit Dominus patribus nostris excolendam."⁵⁶ At this pronouncement, MacDuff fell prostrate in terram.⁵⁷ Patria could mean the countryside in general, but it was almost always chosen for references to the fatherland or the "patriam qua natus fuit".⁵⁸ Each individual was bound by certain rights and obligations to his patria. He was expected to defend its liberties, and in turn, could expect to be free within it; the worst of lots was that faced by the Britons when defeated by the Angles, slavery in one's own homeland where they were accustomed to freedom:

"Durissima quoque servitutis est cuique condito, naturali patria famulari servus, qua dominari soleat libertate." 59

The key word of the three is regnum. Fordun considered the Scots members of a kingdom rather than of a nation, and for him, regnum had the same emotive force as patria. The world was split into kingdoms. The Scots were not searching simply for a place to stay in their early wanderings; they sought a kingdom of their own. Social classes were divided vertically by kingdoms, as was the church. Each kingdom had its own privileges and customs which had to be respected. When a king succeeded to the throne, he took his realm's crown; foreign relations were between kings and kingdoms, not nations. Even Heaven was a kingdom and God was the ruler of kingdoms. Everyone's patria

was the regnum in which they had been born. Consequently, the Scots' regnum, given to them by God, could command their loyalty as their patria. Gradually, as the narrative left the origin myth, Fordun shifted the emphasis of the history from the gens to the regnum, the more important unit formed by the Scots and their king.

. . .

The king was the focal point of the gens, the regnum and the Chronica. Fordun was only interested in the people when the king failed.⁶⁰ He was proud of the Scots' long native kinglist; to him, the imposition of a foreign king was a horrible fate. The Scots in Spain had clung to their miserable independence, barely subsisting in order to live under their own king instead of an alien.⁶¹ When Edward I later came to Scotland determined either to subject the inhabitants to his rule or to reduce the kingdom to a wilderness, the alternatives probably seemed roughly equivalent to Fordun:

"Rex Angliae ... Scociam intravit, cum deliberato consilio ad eam tunc cum suis habitatoribus plenarie et finaliter subjugandum, vel, ipsius incolis penitus deletis, terram ipsam in extremam et irrecuperabilem ad redigendam vastitatem." 62

The Scots' first king, Gaythelos, had no kingdom to rule, so, like a Scottish Moses, he guided, protected and gave laws to his people as they wandered homeless. Once the Scots did have a kingdom, it was the king's duty to defend it and care for all its inhabitants; in return, they owed him unswerving loyalty, even if he were a child, for "the age of the king consists of the faith of his subjects".⁶³ Macbeth was defeated because the people, knowing Malcolm was their true lord, deserted the usurper when the two armies met.⁶⁴ Later, Ochtred, who would not agree to his brother's rebellion in Galloway against William, was verus Scotus.⁶⁵ The English bishops should not have rejected Edgar Atheling for their king; they knew that a king's

youth, age, or simple-mindedness stood firm on his subjects' loyalty:

"scientes, quod aetas regia vel puerilis, vel senilis, vel etiam simplicitas in fidelitate constat, et regimine subditorum!" 66

The ties between the king, kingdom and nation were emphasized by Fordun's disgust with the knight, loyal to William Rufus, who challenged Edgar Atheling, claiming he was disloyal to the Norman. As an Englishman, the challenger should himself have supported Edgar:

"Hinc etiam calumpniatorem cum justa animadversione increpat, qui Anglicus genere existens, naturae videretur impugnator." 67

The fates of the king and his kingdom were linked; the natives of any kingdom always suffered with their king.⁶⁸ For instance, despite their theoretical loyalty to the king at any price, some subjects were quick to take advantage of their sovereign's weakness, as when Alexander III was a minor and Alan Durward threatened the good government of the realm which caused Fordun to exclaim, "Vae! regno, ubi rex est puer."⁶⁹ But the people shared their monarch's joy as well, as when Alexander III was born ad magnam laetitiam gentis suae, et totius regni Scotorum,⁷⁰ for their security was now assured.

The king should be, first and foremost, a protector in the widest sense of the word, defending the kingdom from all enemies, internal and external, and always careful to promote his people's best interest. The belief in the need for a strong guardian was so great that the warrior king, Eugenius or Eochodius Buyd, ordered that when he died, his right arm should be cut off with the sword still in his hand so that the kingdom would never be without a defender.⁷¹ At the other extreme, Fordun admitted that Malcolm IV, whom he revered as a saint, did not do his job adequately; sainthood and kingship apparently did not mix, for Malcolm was so preoccupied with the heavenly kingdom that he ignored his earthly one, earning the hatred of the commons and

losing control of the government to his brother William.⁷² Fordun believed the death of Alexander III's son Alexander was the beginning of Scotland's trouble since it left the kingless kingdom to fend for itself; if she had known what she was facing, Scotland's mourning would have been all the greater:

"Cujus mors initium fuit dolorum Scotiae futurorum. Heu! proth! dolor, o Scotia! quoniam si cognovisses et tu, tot tibi futuros luctum dies et lachrimarum. Tanta mala infallibiliter adesse festinant,
Quantaque si scires nunquam te ferre putares." 73

The Scots coped, thanks to the efforts of Wallace who was wondrously brave, handsome and generous, and not of such lowly birth as some claimed.⁷⁴ He forced omnes magnates Scotiae⁷⁵ to obey him, and tirelessly attacked the English, hoping to free his homeland:

"viriliter se contulit ad expugnanda castra et villas firmatas, in quibus Anglici principabantur, per omnia patriae liberationi et subversioni inimicorum solerter intendebat." 76

By 20 August 1297, all the English had been put out of Scotland,⁷⁷ but Wallace's success was not permanent, and he was forced to resign. The kingdom was not safe until it was given another king, Robert Bruce, born by divine providence to save the Scottish nation:

"Ex qua (Martha) divina providentia filium genuit, futurum conterendae gentis Scotorum salvatorem, propugnatorem et regem, prout historiae series declarabit". 78

God had been moved to send the Scots a saviour and champion who, touched by their misery and hopelessness, laboured tirelessly to free his brothers:

"misericors Deus, Scotorum miseriis, continuis clamoribus compassus et doloribus, more solito, paternae pietatis suscitavit eis salvatorem et propugnatorem, unum, scilicet, de suis confratribus, Robertum de Bruyse nomine, qui, eos in lacu miseriae prostratos, et omni spe salutis et auxilio destitutos, videns, dolore cordis contractis, intrinsecus, tanquam alter Machabaeus, manum mittens ad fortia, pro fratribus liberandis, innumeros et importabiles diei aestus, et frigoris, et famis, in terra et in mari, subiit labores, non inimicorum tantum, sed etiam falsorum fratrum insidias, et taedia, inedia, et pericula laetanter amplectando." 79

Moved by the memory of the Scots' ancient freedom,⁸⁰ Bruce, as king, could accomplish what Wallace could not.

The objections raised by Malcolm Canmore when testing MacDuff's sincerity emphasized both the dependence of the people on their king and the need for a strong ruler.⁸¹ Malcolm insisted that he had grown so sinful that if he were to accept the crown, he would be deposed. His lust would lead to his destruction, just as it had brought low other rulers. MacDuff brushed this aside as an empty excuse, an answer unfit for those who had left their wives, sons and nation to serve him. After all, there were plenty of women in Scotland, and even that debaucher Octavian had done worthy works. Malcolm could do the same as long as he did not lose the king's good name or the favour of the nation. Malcolm then confessed to being a thief. MacDuff was forced to admit that the higher the man's position, the greater the scandal this brought, and that this was doubly true in a prince whom the people always take as their example; he therefore not only hurt himself but his subjects as well:

"Dupliciter quoque princeps virtutum declinans a tramite delinquit, quia seipsum et primo vitiis involvit, et iterum humili populo praebet exemplum delinquendi. Nam Mobile mutatur semper cum principe vulgus." 82

But Malcolm must have been mistaken when he said that it was impossible for him not to steal because God, whose law he was breaking, would not demand the impossible; besides, everyone knows that the urge to steal comes from poverty, and since kings are rich, Malcolm would not need to steal once he accepted the crown. Finally, Malcolm claimed that he was faithless; he seldom kept his word and would rather cheat than trust to fortune. This dumbfounded MacDuff; it seems there were limits to what a king might do. The thane saw only three choices open to those like himself: they might leave their children, wives and worldly good to live in exile; serve a tyrant; or serve

Malcolm who possessed the right to the throne but was unfit to be a private person, let alone a king. MacDuff chose the first until Malcolm finally told him the truth and agreed to free his people.

The king's role as guide came to light particularly in Fordun's long citation from Ailred of Rievaulx's lament for David I, a tribute which occasionally reflected rather badly on the Scottish nation. David's good works seem almost endless; he made the fierce Scots meek, and delighted in bringing peace to the barbarous nations who were divided by language and customs by trying to civilize them:

"Ita enim populum illum rudem et agrestem ad mores compositos et edomitos illicere satagabat, ut non solum de magnis regni suis causis, verum de minimis quibusque, utpote de ortis, de aedificiis, de pomeriis, curam gereret, et eos ad similia suo exemplo provocaret." 83

David was everything Fordun thought a king should be. He was a strong ruler who kept the peace within his realm and defended it from external threats while providing a good example for all his people and concerning himself with every aspect of their lives. Indubitably, David I was foremost in Fordun's thought when he asked the Scottish kings to follow in the footsteps of their ancestors.⁸⁴

Fordun's loyalty to his kingdom was complemented by his loyalty to the person of the king upon whom that kingdom and its inhabitants depended. To Fordun, no oath could be binding if it were harmful to the king's safety.⁸⁵ Treason, therefore, was the worst of crimes, and a traitor was scarcely a man. Undeserving of any other name, a traitor was worthless:

"O nefanda proditorum rabies! ... O malum malorum omnium incomparabiliter foedissimum, et cunctis hominibus execrandum! Vere proditor, quia fidem perdit, homo non est, nec alio nomine dignus, (quam) renunciando fidem sponte suscepit, hoc est, proditor. Fides, dicit philosophus, firmissimum humani pectoris bonum est, nulla necessitate fallendum cogitur, nullo premio corrumpitur, qui sine fide est, omni vero bono vacuus est." 86

Fordun explained that he had discussed the assassinations, betrayals, and other crimes against the Northumbrian kings not as a blasphemer of his own or any other race, but as a warning to avoid such wickedness.⁸⁷ All opposition to the king was not necessarily treason.

When the earls besieged William at Perth because they objected to his close relations with the English, they were said to have acted nec pro singulari commodo seu proditione, ymmo rei publicae tuitione.⁸⁸

On the other hand, it was also possible to act treasonably against one who was not a king, as when Wallace was fraudulenter et proditionaliter captured by John of Menteith.⁸⁹ Both of these cases involve concern, or lack of it, for the well-being of the state and those who ruled it. But generally, loyalty to the king was the only criterion for judging traitors, as when Fordun explained that once Robert Bruce was king, all those who favoured Balliol were viewed with suspicion, whereas earlier, Bruce's supporters proditores regis et regni communiter sunt reputati.⁹⁰

Traitors were roundly and repeatedly denounced throughout the Chronica, although Fordun treated Robert Stewart's rebellion against David II circumspectly, despite his favour toward David.⁹¹ Much as he despised traitors, it would have been more than impolitic to condemn explicitly the king whom he expected would read his narrative. The message of the history itself was clear enough to make that unnecessary.

Fordun had lived under the firm rule of David II, and, unlike later historians, seemed inclined to favour that king and protect his reputation.⁹² David's control of his kingdom and subjects contrasted sharply with the early years of the Stewarts when "Scotland was racked by misgovernment which proved beyond doubt that there was no substitute for a masterful king."⁹³ Fordun called for a strong king

to maintain the kingdom in his address to the Scottish kings. Here he set out his priorities for a successful reign. Secure in a firm faith, the king should defend the realm, serve the liberty of the church, rule his subjects by law, and humbly invite any discordant nobles to peace. Any rebels should be broken like a vase with a wand of iron which should always be used for the equity and direction of the realm, for what is more atrocious than the army rising against its head? Ill members who endangered the body or the kingdom should be cured, gently or otherwise. "But believe me, the best cure of all discord or sickness, and the quickest, is the opposing guard of a prince":

"Primo quoque Deum, omnium regum regem invictissimum, diligendo timere, devotasque sibi reddendo laudes illi soli servire. Gladio protectionis ab exteris invasoribus regnum defendere, justas et consuetas ecclesiae sanctae Dei libertates illaesas servare. Justitiae sceptro subditum vobis populum benigne fovendo, legibus regere. Discordantes, si qui sint, proceres ad pacem humiliter invitare. Sed et regiae majestati rebelles, etiam in populo malignantes, justum subire iudicium cogantur, vel, si non corrigibiles, ut prophetae verbis utar, tanquam vasa figuli virga confringatur ferrea, sed ut aequitatis virga sit semper et directionis regni vestri. Quid vilius est, quid atrocius, quam in caput membrum, in regem insurgere militem? Ubi totius corporis aut regni putatur imminere discrimen, nunquid abscissione digni sunt ambo, vel subtili quodam et molli medicamine sanandi? ... Sed optima, crede mihi, discordiarum omnium curativo sive morborum et celerrima caute principiis est obstandum." 94

This address had first been written under David II and it took on a new urgency after his death.

As the example of William and the earls shows, kings were not above reproach, but the evil Scottish kings who abound in later histories are not common here. In the Chronica, Scottish kings were rarely the "victims of the moral law which punishes the unjust. That there is such a law seems to need no argument, but it also seems to operate with a proper regard for the moral superiority of the Scot."⁹⁵ King Culen had been, literally, useless:

"Ad regni vero regimen inutilis fuit, et remissus, nihil regale, vel memoria dignum, suis diebus actum est." 96

Macbeth was a tyrant with no right to rule who was killed on the return of the rightful heir, but he was, like Donald Bane, not so much an evil king as a temporarily successful traitor. The latter's downfall was a warning to all potential usurpers for, once again, the faithful natives refused to fight their true lord, and Donald was forced to flee:

"Ecce quomodo populus indigena fidelis resistere veretur contra verum et legium dominum ... Caveant igitur et abhorreant regnorum invasores injusti, ne fidelem populum adversus legitimum et legium dominum vel heredem bellandum magis ducant, quam bonum filium contra patrem." 97

Kings who did their work well, and most Scottish kings fit into this category, deserved the unswerving loyalty of the people whom they nurtured. Fordun himself was loyal first to his king, then to his kingdom and the people within it. There is little evidence in his history of loyalty to an ideal of the Scottish nation as a political entity without a sovereign; there is no praise for the force which held Stirling "for the lion". If his heroes were not fighting for the king, they were motivated by the suffering of their compatriots. Such a strong devotion to the person of the king, even with qualifications, was a conservative step for Fordun. In the course of the Wars of Independence, the Scots had shown that they were loyal not to a king, but to the monarchy, for "had patriotism been no more than loyalty to a particular lawful ruler it (Scotland) could not have survived these tumultuous vicissitudes."⁹⁸ The signatories to the Declaration of Arbroath had stated that they would drive Robert Bruce from the throne if he should turn away from the work he had begun and agree to make Scotland subject to the English.⁹⁹ Their theme was regnal liberty,¹⁰⁰ with which Fordun

would have concurred, but his first loyalty was to the king, and his Chronica is centred on the actions of the sovereign.

. . .

The origin myth Fordun constructed differed from those in Baldred Bisset's Processus, the Declaration of the Clergy, and the Declaration of Arbroath, but all four were written for basically the same purpose, that is, to counter the origin myths of the English popularized by historians such as Geoffrey of Monmouth.

In Geoffrey's history, the goddess Diana ordered Brutus, a descendant of Aeneas, to settle in an island beyond Gaul.¹⁰¹ He divided the island among his three sons, and when Albanactus, who ruled the section including Scotland, was killed by Humber, king of the Huns, his lands went to his elder brother Locrinus, ruler of what was to become most of England.¹⁰² The Scots, exiles from Spain, were met by the British king, Gurgunt, off Orkney, and were sent to Ireland.¹⁰³ The Picts settled in the northern part of the Britons' island later. Thus, according to Geoffrey, contemporary Scots were descended from the Picts and the Irish.¹⁰⁴ They had been pacified by Uther and Arthur,¹⁰⁵ although one wonders why the British kings had taken that much trouble, for Scotland "was a land frightful to live in, more or less uninhabited, and it offered a safe lurking-place to foreigners."¹⁰⁶

Fordun would have read Baldred Bisset's arguments in the pamphlet he recommended to his readers by Alan of Montrose.¹⁰⁷ Bisset granted that the Britons once held the whole island,¹⁰⁸ but since then "the Britons were driven out of England by the Saxons, the Saxons by the Danes, and meanwhile, the Danes by the Saxons, and the same Saxons by the Normans, that is, by William the Bastard and his accomplices; it is from these, and not from the Britons, that this king (Edward I)

was shown to have been descended".¹⁰⁹ The Britons had been driven out of Scotland by the Picts who were themselves conquered by the Scots. Thus, the Brutus story was not the effective weapon against the Scots it appeared to be.

Bisset had to concoct a story which proved that the Scots were not subjects of the English. He turned to the story of Scota, daughter of Pharaoh, possibly a product of the union of the Picts and Scots and the desire of that time to give these two peoples common ancestry.¹¹⁰ Scota was said to have sailed to Ireland, and thence to Scotland with the royal throne, giving her name to the country. Therefore, through her the Egyptians had more right to Scotland than the English:

"Filia namque Pharaonis regis Aegypti, cum armata manu et maxima classe navium, applicuit in Hibernia. Postea, assumptis quibusdam Hibernicis, in Scotiam navigavit, deferens secum sedile regium, quod iste rex Angliae, inter cetera regni Scotia insignia, secum per violentiam de regno Scotiae in Angliam asportavit. Ipsa devicit et dejecit Pictos, et regnum ipsum obtinuit: ac ab ipsa Scota, Scoti et Scotia nuncupantur. Unde versus:

A muliere Scota vocitatur Scotia tota.
Qui Scoti nomen et locum usque in hodiernum diem noscuntur
obtinere ... Plus juris Aegypti, quam Anglici, in regno
Scotiae possent vendicare." 111

The Declaration of the Clergy did not delve into the details of the ancient origins of the nation, choosing instead to stress that Robert Bruce had saved and restored his kingdom from injury, as many kings had done before him; these kings had expelled the Picts and many others from the realm.¹¹²

The Declaration of Arbroath returned to the earliest times. Scota has disappeared. Leaving Scythia, the Scots were said to have travelled through the Straits of Gibraltar to Spain where they survived, unconquered, until they migrated to Scotland where they still lived, having driven out the Britons, destroyed the Picts, and resisted Norwegian, Danish and English invaders. Their royal dynasty

proclaimed their independence, for there have been 113 kings, none of them foreigners.¹¹³

Fordun set himself the task of refuting the English stories with a more complete myth than any of these. Earlier myths which sought to demonstrate that the Scots and Picts, with their Scythian origins, "were descendants not only of Japhet and Noah, but also ... of the Trojans",¹¹⁴ did not help to establish the Scots' complete independence or counter English claims. The Scots had to be the enemies of the Britons to prevent English claims through that banished race having any effect, and any link with Troy implied a possible tie with the English. Neither could Fordun countenance Bisset's claims of papal overlordship of Scotland. Therefore, "with honesty of purpose, with limited materials and with no precursors, he did use his sources to construct a coherent narrative history of the Scots appropriate to the framework of world history then generally accepted."¹¹⁵ The narrative he produced retained several themes from the three previous Scottish efforts: the Scots had always been independent; they had their own line of kings; they had destroyed the Picts so effectively that all the inhabitants of the Scottish kingdom were now Scots; and they were one of God's chosen peoples.

In the first sentence of his history, Fordun distinguished the Scots from any and all who claimed Trojan ancestry. From the writings of the ancients it is learned that the Scots had their origins in certain Greeks and Egyptians:

"Ex variis quippe veterum scriptis chronographorum colligitur, quod gentis antiquissimae natio Scotorum a Graecis et Egyptiorum reliquiis, ceteris mari rubro cum rege submersis, primum ceperat exordium." 116

Some turbulent Greeks¹¹⁷ under the leadership of Gaythelos, the son of king Neolus or Heolus, had been exiled on account of their rebellion. Upon arrival in Egypt, Gaythelos' courage won him Pharaoh's

daughter, Scota, for his wife.¹¹⁸ Gaythelos Glas refused to pursue the innocent Hebrew, thereby escaping death by drowning. He would have succeeded to the Egyptian throne, had the Egyptians not feared the yoke of an alien tyrant; they drove him out of the kingdom with the Greek and Egyptian nobles. Moreover, Moses' plagues had been effective, and many of those who were in Egypt feared divine wrath would destroy it like Sodom and Gomorrah. It seemed wisest to leave:

"Perhibiter tamen alibi, multos Egyptios et advenas simul Graecos, non solum humano metu, sicut superius exprimitur, sed potius timore divino perterritos, ab Egypto procul et patria nativa fugisse. Videntes autem terribiles plagas et signa, quibus per Moysen afflicti fuerant, timuerunt valde, nec ausi sunt ibidem amplius praestolari." 119

Some Egyptian refugees founded Athens, others Argos. Scota, willingly, through fear of the gods, or coerced by her enemies, fled from Egypt with her husband and a large retinue.¹²⁰ Scota was no longer the leader as in the Processus; instead, Gaythelos, as king guided his people as was proper for a prince.¹²¹ The Scots eventually settled in Spain where they were subject to continual attack, but were never conquered. As his nation slowly decreased in numbers, Gaythelos came to understand that they were being punished for not continuing to empty lands by the Spanish gods who had given the territory occupied by the Scots to other peoples. Afraid he might also be offending his own gods, Gaythelos took his council's advice to send explorers to Ireland, the island he had seen from Spain. Dying, he later tells his sons that they must go to the island which the explorers had reported was empty; it was a gift of the gods.¹²²

His sons Iber and Hymec obeyed, leading some of their people to the island which was uninhabited, according to some accounts, or settled by giants. Iber, or Yber, slew and subdued those natives he found and called the land Scotia for his mother, though there were

other names for the island.¹²³ Some Scots remained in Spain under Hiber and his descendants; eventually, their king Mycelius Espayn sent his three sons to Ireland, still nearly empty except for a few tribes of their own race.¹²⁴ Once they had taken over, Harmonius returned to his father in Spain, leaving his brothers Pertholomus and Hibertus in Ireland.¹²⁵

In the interest of thoroughness, Fordun gave two further accounts of the Scots' migrations, including Geoffrey of Monmouth's which he refuted using discrepancies in Geoffrey's dating. He explained that Geoffrey clearly had been confused; his mistaking the Scots for the Picts had led to the foolish story that the Britons had given Ireland to the Scots:

"Ex quo popularis inepta loquacitas, de tali forte consilio sublimia glorians, asserere voluit, Hiberniam eis de sui regis dono fuisse datam". 126

Furthermore, it would be very surprising if a British king had given an island to a strange tribe; kings do not usually give kingdoms to kinsmen, let alone strangers.¹²⁷

According to Fordun, a third group of Scottish colonists arrived under a descendant of Micelius Espayn, Smonbrich.¹²⁸ He was not his father's heir but he was the best loved and so had been sent, with the marble chair, to rule Ireland.

The people decided to give themselves names so that their first chiefs would not be forgotten; the Greeks called themselves after Gaythelos, and the Egyptians after Scota:

"Postmodum verum quia de Graecis et Egyptiis populus iste commixtus duxerat originem, ne priorum memoria principum suorum prolixo transcurso temporis ex hominibus forte periret, eorum nomina suis coaptabant nominibus. Graeci, videlicet, ex sui principis nomine Geythelos se Geythelenses, similiter et Egyptii, de Scota se Scotos protinus vocabant, quo solo nomine postmodum hodieque communiter utraque gens perfrui gratulatur. Unde quidam:

Scoti de Scota, de Scotis Scocia tota
Nomen habent, vetito Geythelos ducis adaucto." 129

Thus, the appearance of Gaythelos served two purposes in the Chronica; it proved that the Scots have always had a king and provided an explanation for the two names applied to the present inhabitants of the Scottish kingdom.

As the population increased, the people spread throughout Ireland and to the isles of Albion, led by Simon Brek's great-grandson, Ethochius Rothay.¹³⁰ The Picts soon arrived from Aquitaine and asked for permission to stay in Ireland; they were sent instead to Albion and were given wives on the condition that they practise matrilinear succession. Fordun also gave two other accounts of the Picts' arrival in Scotland. One claimed they had been brought to Britain from Scythia by King Humber when he fought with Brutus' son, Locrin; another traced them from Scythia to Aquitaine under Agenor, and thence to Albion.¹³¹ Taking up his own account again, Fordun stated that the Scots had followed the Picts to Albion out of love for the women they had given as wives. Then they realized how fertile the land there was; besides, Albion was a convenient refuge for malefactors. The Picts proscribed any new migrations and tried to oust the Scottish settlers because their gods had warned them that if they did not subdue the Scots, they would themselves be annihilated.¹³²

The Picts pestered the leaderless Scottish migrants until the ambitious Fergus, son of Ferechad, came to rule them, angered by the reports that had reached Ireland of their maltreatment, and allured by the descriptions of the country. He established his kingdom in the western confines of Albion, ruling the Scots who drifted there from amongst the Picts and those who had accompanied him from Ireland.¹³³ Having arrived almost simultaneously, the Picts and Scots allied and lived in peace, invincible, for five hundred years. Then the tyrant Maximus and the Britons managed to turn the Picts against their allies

in the hope of weakening them both.¹³⁴ The Picts and almost all the Britons attacked the Scots mercilessly; the Scottish king, Eugenius, his son and many princes and sub-kings were killed. The survivors chose exile rather than live, conquered, in their own land. Eugenius' brother, Echach, and nephew, Erth, went to Ireland while others went to Norway and the Hebrides in about 360 AD:

"sed et reliqui, (qui) bello superant, relictis praediis, subesse cum populo vel hostibus servire nolentes, elegerunt in terram potius alienam velut advenae degentes liberi, quam propria subditi vivere continua servitute. Echach quoque regis frater cum suo filio, cui nomen Erth, aliisque pluribus Hiberniam petiit. Alii vero Noruegiam. Insulas itaque quidam petentes per omne tempus latebant excidii, praeter quas omne regnum, circa dominicae tempus incarnationis, annum, videlicet, CCCCLX. amiserunt." 135

The Scots remained in exile until Maximus' death when they immediately began to plot their vengeance.¹³⁶ They were helped by the Picts who now wished to free themselves of the Romans, though the Scots were wary of this false nation.¹³⁷ Fergus, son of Erth, sailed with his brothers, Loarn and Fenegus, to the kingdom of Scotland which was rightfully his. He restored peace with the Picts, thereby regaining possession of all the kingdom held by his forefathers, along with some Pictish lands. At this time, several seers prophesied that the Scots would possess all the island:

"quamvis ejusdem temporis nonnulli vates, gentis utriusque tanta belli non obstante clade, futurum esse canebant Scotos procul dubio totam insulam possidentes." 138

The Scoto-Pictish alliance lasted only until Aurelius Ambrosius, the British king, asked for help against the enemies of the Christian faith, the Saxons; the Scots came to the aid of their erstwhile adversaries while the Picts joined the pagans. Relations between the northern neighbours went from bad to worse; eventually, the Picts executed the Scots' king, Alpin, claimant to their throne whom they had captured invading their kingdom. His son, Kenneth, naturally

wanted to avenge his father, but his council was too thoroughly shaken by the death of their king to attack his executioners willingly. So, Kenneth resorted to a trick; dressed in a cloak of shimmering fish scales, he entered the chiefs' quarters at night, fooling those who were barely awake into believing that they were having a vision, and ordering them, on behalf of the living God, to obey their king and destroy the Picts. Their moral fibre thus restored, war was declared, the eventual outcome of which was the ruin of the Pictish kingdom, granted by God as retribution for their sins:

"Sed consequenter postmodum inopinatis incursibus, et variis eos stragibus debilitans, duodecimo tandem anno regni sui septies uno die congregitur, et, innumeris Pictorum populis prostratis, regnum deinceps de fluvio Tyne juxta Northumbriam, ad Orcadam insulas, ut dudum sanctus Adamnanus Hyensis abbas prophetando retulit, totum sibi ratificat confirmatum. ... legentibus tamen frequenter historias, nullatenus mirandum videtur, si Deus omnipotens, regum omnium et regnorum rector, atque secundum merita conservator mirificus, secundum vero demerita terrificus dissipator, robustas gentes, et regna peccatis exigentibus perire saepius permiserat, atque permittet in futurum." 139

Throughout this myth, Fordun portrayed the Scots as a chosen people, like the Israelites, and in the end, God gave them all of the northern part of the island and their monarchia was established.

There was some confusion about the extent of their kingdom and what it should be called in the Chronica. Fordun acknowledged that the name of Europe's largest island, Albion, on which the Scots had finally settled, had changed with each new settlement of it:

"Totius namque peregrinationis Scotorum ambitu, de gente, videlicet, in gentem, de regno siquidem ad regnum alterum utcunque transcurso, cum eorum tandem modernae sedis in Dei nomine perveniatur ad (patriam) cui nomen, secundum scribas, Albion erat antiquitus; de sui nominis varia mutatione, propter novae nationis adventum ipsam crebro superantis, ac de situ regnorum ejus et marginibus, procedat ulterius sermo brevis." 140

For instance, the southern part of Albion had once been called Britannia for the Britons, but was later called England,¹⁴¹ though

it was the erroneous opinion of the commons of Fordun's own time that all of Albion was called Britannia. Fordun was convinced that Britannia was applicable only to the southern part of Albion and that ancient authors, particularly the Romans, had been mistaken when they had applied the name Britain to the whole island.

He was not as clear about what territory was covered by the term Albania. At one point, he seems to agree with the tradition that Scotia had once been called Albania. The author of the chronicle in the Poppleton manuscript, possibly compiled at Brechin just before 995,¹⁴² had stated that Scotia had once been called Albania for Albanectus, the youngest son of Brutus.¹⁴³ Baldred Bisset had defined Albania in the same way,¹⁴⁴ and this definition was repeated by the Scottish negotiators at Bamburgh in 1321.¹⁴⁵ Similarly, when setting the scene for Alexander III's coronation, Fordun described the Stone of Destiny, which, he said, was kept in the monastery of Scone for the consecration of the kings of Albania; no one was accustomed to ruling in Scotland until they had been seated on the stone, as instituted by the kings of Albania:

"Qui lapis in eodem monasterio reverenter ob regum Albaniae consecrationem servatur. Nec uspiam aliquis regum in Scotia regnare solebat, nisi super eundem lapidem regum in accipiendum nomen prius sederet in Scona, sed vero superiori, videlicet, Albaniae constituta regibus ab antiquis." 146

Elsewhere in the Chronica, Albania was given different borders. "The Wall" was said to have divided Albania from Deira.¹⁴⁷ Then again, he also said that Albania extended from the Humber to the Scottish Sea,¹⁴⁸ and he condemned king Selwachius' laziness for, if he had been ready, the Scots could have retrieved all the region of Albania from the Northumbrians.¹⁴⁹ Fordun never resolved this puzzle.

Similarly, there was some confusion about just what Fordun's kings were kings of, for he used both rex Scotorum and rex Scociae

interchangeably, as had the compilers of the chronicles of Melrose¹⁵⁰ and Holyrood.¹⁵¹ Scotia had once applied only to that area north of the Forth-Clyde line;¹⁵² by Fordun's time, it was used for the entire kingdom.¹⁵³ Fordun left Ailred of Rievaulx's lament untouched when he referred to the whole kingdom as Scotia, and he occasionally did the same himself.¹⁵⁴ The southern boundaries of Scotia moved several times according to Fordun; they were first set at the Scottish firth, then the Humber, "the Wall", and finally, at the Tweed. The dangerous Pentland Firth had always been its northern limit:

"Ad fretum quoque Scoticum Scotia prius initium sumpsit, ab austro deinde quidem ad Humbri flumen, a quo cepit exordium Albania. Postmodum vero juxta murum incepit Thirlwal, quem Severus extruxerat ad amnem Tynam. Modo quidem ad amnem Twedem incipit, a finibus Angliae borealibus, et in longum per quadringenta vel paulominus milliaria versus aestivum protensa circum, et in freto Pethlandiae, quo formidabilis et dira caribdis aquas bibit et vomit omnibus horis, terminatur." 155

Scotia included the Western Isles which the Scots had held since ancient times.¹⁵⁶ The isles had been stolen by the Norwegians and therefore, it seems, some Scots were not pleased with the arrangements made by Alexander III with King Magnus to pay an annuity:

"Et quamvis haec quibusdam placuerat conventio, pluribus attamen displicuit. Nam per multorum curricula temporum, priusquam Scoti longe Britanniam advenerant, introducti prius per Eugenium Rothay, quendam eorum ducem, praedictas coluerunt insulas, et abinde usque tempus illud fatale contentionis filiorum regis Scociae Malcolmi Canmor contra Donaldum suum patrum, quo,diviso totaliter regno, Magnus Noricorum rex,filius Olavi,potenter insulas invadens, suo subdiderat dominio, Scoti nulla interruptione praepediti, easdem continue possiderunt." 157

Fordun shared this opinion, and the negotiation about the payment of the annual which had long been the cause of bad relations between Scotland and Norway¹⁵⁸ must have rankled.

Fordun listed the Western Isles along with those of Orkney in two chapters of the Chronica, passing comments on many.¹⁵⁹ To an anonymous

nineteenth century pamphleteer, these chapters seemed sufficient evidence to prove that the Chronica was a post-Reformation forgery, an attempt to pre-date the arrival of Roman Catholicism in Scotland by inventing St Margaret and, probably, her sons.¹⁶⁰ A less bizarre explanation is also available. Fordun pointed out that there were many in Scotland who felt it was wrong to pay an annual in order to keep the islands which were Scotland's by right, and stated that Scottish kings had been buried, traditionally, in Iona, another assertion of Scottish sovereignty against Norwegian claims.¹⁶¹ He may even have felt that since Orkney had been part of the Pictish kingdom it, too, was rightfully part of Scotland. It is also likely that many of the Lowlanders who shared his feelings about the Scots' rights to these islands were fairly ignorant of the lands about which they were arguing, considering their general lack of knowledge about the Highlands. Fordun's lists of islands were his attempt to rectify this. In the course of his travels, he may have visited the Hebrides; the ruins on Dunchonnell bear out his description of that island,¹⁶² but he did not see all the islands he later described for one of his descriptions is inaccurate.¹⁶³ Having completed his list, Fordun did not discuss the mainland regions, Highland or Lowland, in any great detail. Proud as he was of Scotland's natural resources,¹⁶⁴ he assumed that his audience was acquainted with these areas which were, moreover, unquestionably within the Scots' domain.

The notion that everyone in the kingdom was a Scot did not originate in Baldred Bisset's Processus, but in the propaganda put out by the Scots and their kings from, at least, the time of their takeover of the Pictish kingdom.¹⁶⁵ Their claim was based on the idea that whatever other peoples may have settled in northern Albion, they had either been absorbed into the Scottish nation, or expelled.

Fordun never mentioned the Angles of Lothian or the Britons of Strathclyde. On the other hand, the Picts played a large part in the earlier books of the Chronica as the dependents, allies and treacherous enemies of the Scots. Their line of kings, whom Fordun listed, ended with Drusken, after whom the Pictish and Scottish kingdoms were united:

"In hoc quoque rege Drusken, Pictorum regnandi defecit potestas, et ab eis penitus translatum, est regnum ad regem Scotorum Kenethum, suisque successoribus, et unum deinceps Scotorum regnum (est) effectum." 166

Those Picts who had not been slaughtered by the Scots formed robber bands and subsisted in the wilderness before fleeing to England or Norway; some continued to attack the Scots despite the peace treaty, only to be beaten by the Scottish king, Donald, and some faithful Picts.¹⁶⁷ These last were not all as faithful as they seemed, for Fordun suggested that untamed Picts had invited the Danish raiders to come to Scotland.¹⁶⁸ Fordun was not surprised that they were responsible for Constantine's death when they deserted him in battle against the raiding Danes:

"Nec mirum, quia subactos nuper quosdam de Pictis, quasi sinu serpentem secum bellandos temerario conduxit. Namque statim conserta pugna fugientes, occasionem ceteris hoc idem faciendi dederunt." 169

As the Picts were not mentioned again, it may be assumed that they all went into exile or were gradually absorbed into the Scottish nation.

The only other residents of Scotland with a history of their own were the Moray people. Their first home had been in Pannonia where they were under Roman rule. When the Romans' grip loosened under the inept Nero, many nations hoped to regain their freedom; the seditious Moravians rebelled, led by Roderich, and annihilated an entire Roman legion. They chose exile when confronted by a greater Roman force,

and subsisted as pirates until they allied with the Picts. Fordun agreed with Geoffrey of Monmouth's proposal that the Moravians were Picts from Scythia, largely because they joined themselves to that nation upon their arrival in Scotland.

The Moravians' leader, Roberich, was killed in battle while fighting for the Picts and Scots against the Roman leader Marius. On their return to Pictland, the Moravians were given lands to settle in, and wives:

"Regressus vero domi Pictorum populus post fugam confusi secutus; neonon et acephalae genti Moraviae, cujus princeps in bello cecidit, filias in uxores et amplam dedit patriam excolendam, cui pristinae regionis Moraviae secundum Galfridum Kataniae tradentes nomen, cum Pictis insuper commanserunt." 170

Settling in Albion did not tame the Moravians' rebellious nature; unlike the Picts, they were under Scottish rule a long time before they were forced into the melting pot. Fordun was not alone in his suspicion that the people of Moray were somehow different. The Chronicle of Melrose reported in the entry for 1130 that the earl of Moray had been killed with his nation by the Scots: "Anagus, comes Murauensis a Scottis interfectus est cum gente sua".¹⁷¹ Fordun repeated this phrase and added many similar episodes. For instance, Malcolm II had been killed by the Moravians¹⁷² and during Duff's reign, the citizens of the north were plundered by their own, and the king had to go there to punish the offenders:

"aquilonales regni cives a propriis praedonibus oppressi sunt quanquam rigore juris eorum crebro nequitiam antea mitigasset." 173

When he was in Forres punishing diverse criminals, Duff was kidnapped and murdered; this crime was so abhorrent that until his body was found near Kinloss, there was no sunlight in the kingdom. Nothing the Scottish kings tried convinced the Moravians to reform, so, like

another Nebuchadnezzor, Malcolm IV removed them to other parts of the kingdom and settled more peaceable people in Moray:

"Eo tempore rebellum Moraviensum gentem, cujus dudum dominus scilicet, comes Angusius, a Scotis peremptus est, a sua perfidia seu comprovinciali depopulatione nulla prece, nec precio, foedere nec juramento, desistere volentem, a nativo solo, rex, grandi collecto exercitu, velut quodam Nabugodonsor, rex Babilonis, Judaeos, ita per ceteras, tam extramontanas Scociae, quam cismontanas, regiones, eam totam segregando, transtulit, ut nec unus quidem illius terrae nativus permaneret ibidem, populum in ea peculiarem et pacificum collocando." 174

This drastic solution was effective; the Moray people amalgamated into the Scottish and were not mentioned again by Fordun.

While all the inhabitants of the kingdom were of the same nation, they were divided by both language and geography; the people of the mountains spoke Scottish and those of the maritime regions, Teutonic:

"Mores autem Scotorum secundum diversitatem linguarum variantur; duabus enim utuntur linguis, Scotica, videlicet, et Theutonica, cuius linguae gens maritimas possidet et planas regiones, Scoticae vero (linguae) montana inhabitat et insulas ultiores." 175

This division according to language cannot be found in twelfth and thirteenth century records;¹⁷⁶ it had only begun to form around 1350, but Fordun did not question its existence.¹⁷⁷ Furthermore, it is likely that he was quite pleased the use of Gaelic was restricted to the Highlands and islands.¹⁷⁸ It may have been his nation's mother tongue, but it was not his native language, and he did not expect his audience to understand even the most rudimentary phrases. He explained that the name Eochodius Buyd was Eugenius in nostra lingua¹⁷⁹ and felt obliged to translate Gaelic just like French, as, for example, the phrase he quoted from the bard at Alexander III's coronation:

"quidem Scotus montanus ... materna lingua regem ... salutavit hiis Scoticis verbis, dicens: "Benach de Re Albanne Alexander, mac Alexander, mac Vleyham, mac Henri, mac David," ... Quod ita Latine sonat: "Salve rex Albanorum Alexander, filii Alexandri, filii Willelmi, filii Henrici, filii David". 180

Since he was determined to maintain that all the inhabitants of Scotland formed one nation, Fordun was not able to deny that the Highlanders were Scots, though one suspects that he would have liked to have done so. Perhaps his dislike of the Highlanders had been exacerbated by the deterioration of the crown's control of the Highlands in his own time.¹⁸¹ He claimed that his fellow-countrymen were the descendants of the Greeks who had been exiled from their homeland; it seems that they were very much like their eponymous ancestor, Gathelos, who had been handsome, but unstable and beyond everyone's control. Neolus had:

"filium habens vultum eligantem, animo tamen instabilem, nomine Gaythelos, quem nullam in regno potestatem habere permiserat; dum concitatus in iram, et manu multorum munitus juvenum horrenda crudelitate paternum regnum multis affecit cladibus, et insolentiis patrem et incolas offendens vehementer." 182

The Greeks' descendants had at least become more obedient to their king, but otherwise the Highlanders did not fare well when compared to the decent, civilized maritime Scots whom they detested because of their language:

"Maritima quoque domestica gens est et culta, fida, patiens, et urbana, vestitu siquidem honesta, civilis atque pacifica, circa cultum divinum devota, sed et obviandis hostium injuriis semper prona. Insulana vero sive montana, ferina gens est indomita, rudis, et immorigerata, raptu capax, otium diligens, ingenio docilis et callida, forma spectabilis, sed amictu deformis, populo quidem Anglorum et linguae, sed et propriae nationi, propter linguarum diversitatem, infesta, jugiter et crudelis. Regi tamen et regno fidelis et obediens, necnon faciliter legibus subdita, si regatur." 183.

Such sentiments must have been fairly popular outside the Highlands, for they spread to England; on his map of Britain, Matthew of Paris, who was ignorant of Scottish geography in general, and of the Highlands in particular,¹⁸⁴ described the area as mountainous and boggy, full of savage, pastoral people:

"Regio montuosa et nemerosa gentem incultam generans et pastorem propter mariscum et harundinetum!" 185

The Highlanders seldom entered the narrative; when they did, it was usually in reference to the king having to quiet them, as when Alexander III ordered the Earl of Buchan, the Earl of Mar, and Alan Durward to the Hebrides to punish the traitors who had invited Hakon of Norway to attack Scotland:

"Quo peracto negotio, de regis praecepto, cum festinatione, debita, Alexander comes Buchania, Willelmus comes de Marre, et Alanus hostiarius, assumpta secum non modica manu militum ac vernaculorum, occidentales insulas Scociae adierunt, et hos proditores, quorum hortatu anno praecedenti rex Norwagie in Scocia applicuit, occiderunt, et quosdam in fugam compulerunt, atque, quibusdam majoribus suspensis, maximam ex ipsis insimul praedam reportarunt." 186

Fordun seems to have identified the Highlanders with the ancient Scots, but he was not a historian who looked wistfully back to some golden age. When he quoted from Solinus and Isidore¹⁸⁷ to demonstrate the similarities between the Highlanders and their Scottish ancestors, he was just as glad that he did not share either way of life. (See Map 1)

The only other subdivision of the nation appeared first during the Wars of Independence when some Scots helped what Fordun believed to be the English side during the invasions and earned themselves the dubious status of Anglicized Scots. For instance, the officers of Edward I who were harassed by John Comyn and Simon Fraser were described as Anglicos et Scotos Anglicatos;¹⁸⁸ later, the regent, Andrew Moray, attacked Cupar where there were many Scoti Anglicati.¹⁸⁹ Active opposition to the Bruces, whom Fordun saw as the rightful kings, in favour of their enemies left the individual in an infamous middle ground between being a Scot and being an Englishman.

. . .

Fordun was no antiquarian, but certain Scottish traditions and antiquities, most often related in some way to the crown, caught his attention. One way or another, all of them helped to establish the

Scottish dynasty in an antique setting while explaining some of the customs surrounding the monarchy.

An ancient dynasty was prestigious for any kingdom, as well as being outstanding evidence of independence, so Fordun claimed one for Scotland, complete with forty-five kings, most of them anonymous, between the two Ferguses. He left the challenge of filling in their names to later historians just as Baldred Bisset had done:

"A primo quidem hujus regni rege Fergusio, filio Ferchard, ad hunc regem Fergusium, filium Erth, inclusive, quadraginta quinque reges ejusdem et gentis et generis in hac insula regnaverunt. Sed et horum singillatim distinguere tempora principatuum ad praesens omittimus, nam ad plenum scripta non reperimus." 190

The Stone of Destiny fascinated him, and he gave several histories of it. In one of these he claimed that the stone was as old as the Scottish nation. It seems that Smonbricht had been sent to Ireland with the sculptured marble chair which Gaythelos had brought out of Egypt to Spain where it had been the throne of the Scottish kings. Elsewhere, Fordun said that this same Simon had dragged up the carved chair, tangled in his anchor chains when sailing to Ireland; it was accepted as a good omen for several seers told Simon that he and his successors would reign wherever they found the stone. Fordun never said which story he accepted, but he endorsed the prophesy, explaining that it had been proved true during the Scots' wanderings when they had conquered the lands of those who had stolen the stone:

"Unde quidam ex eorum divinatione vaticinando metricè sic prophatur:

Ni fallat fatum, Scoti quocumque locatum
Et hoc sicut

Inveniant lapidem, regnare tenentur ibidem.
Vulgaris asserit hactenus opinio, verum in sua saepius
primitiva peregrinatione probari. Nam ereptum per hostes
lapidem non solum Hispanienses regulos, verum etiam et
Hybernienses patrias, hunc una eorum regionibus, secundum
assignatum superius vaticinium, et ipsi potenter ab hostibus
receperunt." 191

The stone was brought to Scotland by the first Fergus, and he was the first to be crowned king on it:

"Fergusius filius Ferchad, regalem in Scotia secum deferens cathedram marmoreo lapide decisam, in qua primus ibidem Rex a Scotis coronatus est. Cujus exemplo succedentes postmodum in regno ceteri reges eadem cathedra rite coronam susceperunt."192

Fordun never said when the stone was removed to England, but he implied that it must have been after Bruce's coronation, for he claimed that Bruce had been crowned on the royal chair in the accustomed manner.¹⁹³ As an admirer of Robert Bruce it would have been difficult for Fordun to accept that there had been anything out of order about Bruce's coronation. The stone was no longer at Scone in 1331 when David Bruce was crowned; by then, the rite had been changed as he was the first Scottish king to be anointed:

"inunctus est David rex Scotorum, ... et coronatur apud Sconam ... per bullam sanctissimi patris Johannis XXII tunc summi pontificis, ad hoc specialiter constituto, ante quem nullus regum Scociae legitur fuisse inunctum, vel cum tali solemnitate coronatum." 194

The stone simply disappeared. Fordun must have known it had been taken to England, if only from his reading of the Processus, but he never admitted it. Even so, he must have hoped that the prophecies would be fulfilled and that the Scottish kings would come to rule England as he believed was their right.

Fordun carefully explained the laws of succession and the reasons Malcolm, son of Kenneth, changed the ancient method of selecting the king according to fitness rather than nearness of blood. The former system had been necessary when the Scottish population had been small; they had not wanted youths to rule when they were establishing their kingdom and were continually subject to attack:

"Hujusmodi vero resignationis constitutio prius invaluit, quia primitivae gentis exigua paucitas, cum esset numero brevi, certam in acquirendo sibi sive servando cum

libertate sedem, undique bellis exposita, non solum sui regni, sed etiam corporum abhorrens regimen tradi juvenibus, hanc legem statuit praetaxatam". 195

Malcolm feared the dismemberment of the kingdom which could result from this system; he decreed that thenceforth, the king would be succeeded by his nearest descendant:

"Malcolmi ... propter regni dispendium, quod inde forsan evenire poterat, ordinatione communi pro lege perpetua sanxivit, quod deinceps cuicumque regi, qui pro tempore fuerit post ejus obitum proxima sobilis, filius videlicet, aut filia, nepos aut neptis, proximior tunc superstes ad regni regimen succederet. Sed illis forte deficientibus, hereditatis jura possideat, vel regia progenitus es stirpe, vel collateralis proximus heres." 196

Later, Fordun said it had been Kenneth who first tried to institute primogeniture.¹⁹⁷ Those who found themselves deprived of their chance to make a bid for the throne were responsible for Kenneth's death and the ensuing civil war. Malcolm eventually won the throne, not, it seems, by right as Kenneth's son, but because the people believed him to be the foremost knight in the realm and because they knew him to be strong and virtuous.¹⁹⁸ After his victories, Malcolm emphasized his desire to succeed according to the new law. The nobles ratified his father's decree and he was crowned:

"At illi regiae successionis legem, patris sui diebus statutam, per omnia ratam habentes, ipsum repente regem constituunt, regni diademate coronatum." 199

. . . .

Either through chance or design, Fordun occasionally added people to the Scottish nation whose achievements reflected well on the nation. An example of this is his claim that two Scots, Clement and Dungal, had founded a school in Paris and another in Pavia under the patronage of Charlemagne. His story is very similar to that in Notker the Stammerer's Charlemagne, in which two Irish monks selling their wares, wisdom, arrived in a land where the study of letters had fallen into oblivion

and established two schools.²⁰⁰ While it is unlikely that Fordun used a copy of Notker, this story must have become popular fairly soon after Charlemagne's death as Notker wrote between 883 and 887;²⁰¹ a version of it may have been included in one of the manuscripts used by Fordun. Perhaps this version did not state that Clement and Dungal were Scots from Ireland as Notker does,²⁰² or Fordun may simply have ignored the reference.

Fordun's pride in his nation, or at least the Lowland part thereof, led him to protect its reputation by biasing his account in their favour. He was especially proud of their independence, their preference for exile and death over slavery, not only in ancient times but also nearer to his own day when Comyn and Fraser met the English at Roslîn, leading Scots who would rather die than be subjected to foreigners:

"cum viris electis, qui mori prius quam nationi Gallicanae (or Anglicanae) subici indigne potius elegerunt." 203

Fordun was loath to admit that at times some Scots had been willing to accept Edward I's terms and sometimes helped the enemy. Much to Fordun's disgust, the defeat at Falkirk was due to the jealous Comyns who deserted Wallace and to Bruce who, when the Scots appeared invincible, led the English forces around the hill on which the Scots had made their stand. He attacked them from the rear, bringing about an English victory:

"Nam, propter conceptam malitiam, ex fonte invidiae generatam, quam erga dictum Willelmum Cumynenses habebant, cum suis complicitibus campum deserentes, illaesi evaserunt...Communiter autem dicitur, Robertum de Bruyse qui post fuit rex Scociae, sed tunc pro parte stetit regis Angliae, per suam industriam huic victoriae causam praestitisse. ... Et est notandum, quod nunquam vel raro legitur, ab Anglicis Scotos fuisse superatos, nisi invidia procerum, vel fraude et deceptione indigenarum, ab aliam partem se transferentium." 204

Shameful as admitting to Scottish treachery was, it was preferable to

acknowledging that the most hated of enemies might have been victorious through their own skill. The lapses during the Wars of Independence were the only moments of submissiveness in the nation's history, and they were counterbalanced by Fordun's emphasis on the unequivocal stand made by Wallace and his supporters.

Occasionally, Fordun approved of decisions made by the Scots when he would have condemned other nations, as when James Douglas and Thomas Randolph refused to meet Edward III's force in battle when it finally caught up with them in Weardale. After eight days of skirmishing, the Scots escaped by night, saving themselves as prudent soldiers should, and capturing many of the enemy:

"Ubi octo diebus exercitus se mutuo quotidie viderunt, et quotidie mutuis caedibus se afflixerunt, congressum tamen belli vitabant. Tandem vero Scoti, ut prudentes bellici, captata hora seipsos salvandi, pluribus hostium morte prostratis, per nocturnos circuitus, et, captis plurimis Anglicis et Hannonibus, sani et incolumes ad propria revertuntur." 205

One can only imagine the scorn he would have heaped upon the English had they been the ones who prudently saved themselves.

This pro-Scottish bias did not always operate; less than enthusiastic support of the king usually made Fordun speak out against the offender, especially if the king in question was Robert Bruce. Thus, while he approved of the conquest of Ireland by the early Scottish king, Gregory, in the ninth century,²⁰⁶ Fordun was critical of Edward Bruce's attempt to secure the crown he had been given there, explaining that the murders Edward committed in Ulster did him no good:

"Edwardus de Bruyse ... intravit Hiberniam in manu potenti ... et ibidem constitutus rex, totam Ultoniam destruxit, et innumera exercuit homicidia, quod factum post modicum tempus in prosperum non cessit." 207

Fordun disapproved of Edward's reason for starting this war; he was,

according to the Chronica, a high-spirited man who would not keep peace with his brother without being given half the kingdom:

"Iste Edwardus erat homo ferox, et magnis cordis valde, nec voluit cohabitare fratri suo in pace, nisi dimidium regni solus haberet, et hac de causa mota fuit guerra in Hibernia ubi, ut praemittitur, finivit vitam." 208

Edward had gone to war, not to claim what was rightfully his, like Gregory, but because he could not get along with the king who had saved Scotland almost single-handed; this could not be forgiven. Still, Fordun's opinion might have been less harsh had Edward, like Gregory, been victorious; instead, his campaign ended in defeat and the deaths of many Scottish nobles.

It is not surprising that a history by a Scot about the Scots written primarily for other Scots should treat that nation favourably, but, as has been seen, Fordun had not blinded himself to their faults. If read by a foreigner, his diatribe against the Highlanders would have reflected poorly on the rest of the nation. It could not have been complimentary to any nation that so many of its members were boorish savages. Furthermore, according to the passage he cited from Ailred of Rievaulx, the whole nation had been little better than the Highlanders until David I civilized them:

"Ita enim populum illum rudem et agrestem ad mores compositos et edomitos illicere satagebat". 209

Whatever the habits of their ancestors or their Highland neighbours, Fordun made it abundantly clear that the Lowlanders at least had benefited from David I's instruction.

Not even the Lowlanders escaped unscathed. Fordun did not approve of the Franco-Scottish raids into England in 1385, believing that Scottish cooperation had been bought by the French; the Scots' greed did not produce anything worth remembering and provoked the invasion of Lothian by Richard II:

"ac Scoti, qui crebro per denarium amittunt solidum, auri cupiditate seducti Angliam debellare promiserunt. Sed postea in effectu modicum quid dignum memoria perfecerunt. Acceptum igitur a Gallicis aurum praedictum majores regni inter ipsos diviserunt, et alios mediocres dimiserunt inanes, pro qua sponsione et auri aviditate destructio Laudoniae paulo post secuta est per regem Angliae." 210

The short-sightedness of the Scottish leaders, most of them Lowlanders, had brought about another invasion of Scotland; much as war with England suited Fordun, the nobles' motives and lack of prudence did not.

By and large, Fordun's treatment of his nation was markedly favourable, and his gentleness when dealing with their faults becomes all the clearer when his discussion of the Scots is compared to his account of any other nation. His derogatory opinion of the Picts has already been discussed, and he considered the Norse and Danes just as bad. The Britons were enemies, too, but they soon became objects of pity rather than hate. Fordun denigrated their claims through Arthur; while acknowledging his virtues, Fordun stated that the disputes over his succession had been all very confused, and focused on Arthur's last battle with Mordred in which many Scots were killed, rather than on his victories, skirting the issue of the British king's alleged conquest of the Scots.²¹¹ Later, the Britons were conquered, exiled, then reconquered, losing even their name. Their descendants, the Welsh, rebelled, but their own prophet, Merlin, had long since foretold their subjugation,²¹² and Fordun seems more sympathetic than critical once they were not a danger to the Scots.

Even the Scots' long-standing allies did not fare very well. Fordun pre-dated the Franco-Scottish alliance to the reigns of Achaius and Charlemagne, when the emperor, provoked by the repeated English attacks, made alliances with friendly nations against all those who attacked Christians who were fighting pagans. This cowed the English, and war

was avoided. Fordun gave two accounts of the origin of the French,²¹³ followed intermittently by the succession of their kings.²¹⁴ Little more was said about them until Philip IV obtained a truce from Edward I in 1300, not only as an ally of Scotland, but as a friend:

"regis Franciae, tanquam aliquo pacto confoederati ad regnum Scociae, sed tanquam ipsius consanguinei et amici specialis, et amicabile compositoris utriusque partis." 215

Bruce renewed the alliance in 1325, and the French came to Robert Stewart's aid against the English in Perth, although the inept French naval commander and his two boatloads of free-booters were as much a hindrance as a help. They lost one of their ships in the assault through their own foolhardiness, and when the Guardian had paid for its recovery, they sank it again at the outlet of Drumlie.²¹⁶ On the departure of John de Vienne's force in 1385, Fordun complimented the French, saying that they had borne themselves well: "Francigenae ... qui nobiliter egerunt pro posse sui."²¹⁷ This is not much of a compliment, but it is better than what might have been expected considering that the allied forces had quarrelled and that much of what the French had not tried to steal²¹⁸ had to be burned in order to starve the English invaders under Richard II.

On the other hand, the Scots seem to have been of great use to the beleaguered French in their wars against the English. Whatever the prestige of the Auld Alliance, Fordun left the impression in the Chronica that the French derived more benefit from it than the Scots. This, in turn, helps to explain his ambivalent attitude towards the French.

But most of Fordun's vituperation was saved for the English, St. Margaret and her family excepted. The Scots and English had not been enemies before the end of the thirteenth century,²¹⁹ but there is little evidence of goodwill in the Chronica. The only passages which

are consistently fair to the English are the few chapters of Book VI, a history of the English kings taken from Ailred of Rievaulx.²²⁰

Outside of Ailred's account, the narrative was slanted against them. Fordun's hatred of the English and his abhorrence of both treason and foreign kings combined in his comment that the Saxon kings of the eleventh century gradually turned to evil, with traitor succeeding traitor, until a foreign nation stole the kingdom and subjected the people:

"Hac autem proditiōe regnum decrescere coepit, quia proditiōi proditiō, proditores proditrici succedentes, nec a proditiōe cessantes, quousque regiam lineam in mortem et exterminium, seipsos in servitutem miseram, et totum regnum exteris gentibus in possessionem redigissent." 221

Outside his bursts of malicious mockery, Fordun's comments on the English were intended, by and large, to prove three points related to the theme of Scottish independence: first, that the English, unlike the independent Scots, had been conquered and were later forced to surrender their kingdom to the Pope; that they did not have any right to direct overlordship to Scotland; and that, following the true line of succession, the Scots should be ruling England in place of the Normans and their successors.

Other than the quotation from Ailred, next to nothing positive was said about the English in the Chronica. Their own histories, the Polychronicon and Henry of Huntingdon's work, condemned this race which finds itself disgusting, and so despises what is its own and praises alien things. Trying to appear to possess qualities which are becoming in others, the English have tried every order and have remained in none. They are posers who talk like fiddlers, gluttons, pedlars, like Daedalus with profits, like Sardanapalus in bed, mere effigies in church who thunder in the courts, and their dress is so varied that it is impossible to tell a man from a woman. For these

reasons, a holy anchorite in Ethelred's time foretold their downfall at the hands of the Danes, Normans, and Scots:

"Gens ista quae sua sunt fastidians, vituperat propria, commendat aliena, de status sui gradu vix unquam contenta, quod alterius congruit, libenter in se repraesentat. Ymmo nonnulli genus omne circumeuntes nullius generis sunt: omnem ordinem attemptantes, nullius ordines sunt: nam in gestu sunt histriones, in affatu citharones, in convictu nebulones, in quaestu caupones, in apparatu sunt tirones, in lucris agri Daedali, in cubilibus Sardanapalli, in templis simulacra, in curiis tonitrua; sed et in cunctis passim Angligenis tanta vestium varietas, (et) apparatus multiformitas inolevit, ut neutri jam generis quilibet pene censeatur. De qua prophetavit quidam sanctus anchorita, temporibus primis Ethelredi regis in hunc modum ... Angli, quia proditiōni, ebrietati, et negligētiāe domus Dei dediti sunt, primo per Danos, deinde per Normannos, et tertio per Scotos, quos vilissimos reputant, erunt conterendi." 222

The first two of these conquests had already taken place, and John had been forced to surrender his kingdom to the pope. Fordun looked forward to the reviled Scots taking their turn as rulers of the oft-conquered English.

Few of the English were treated fairly, let alone praised, in the Chronica, making Fordun's enthusiasm for St. Margaret and her family seem incongruous at first. The English evilly denied her brother, Edgar Atheling, his throne, preferring the infamous Harold to the true head of the kingdom, and for this they were duly punished:

"Ex quo...postmodum contigit, quod misere per aliena regna vagi dolentes, a propriis expulsi sunt sedibus, nec habentes ubi reclinarent capita, dicente propheta: Qui malignantur exterminabuntur; sustinentes autem Dominum hereditabunt terram." 223

Thus the English, who could have united under one of their own to save their kingdom, chose instead to allow a stranger, Harold, to take the throne. The rejected Saxons set sail for Hungary, but God, as a good omen for the Scots, sent them north instead. The Saxon and Scottish royal lines were joined when Malcolm married Margaret, the bride God had sent him. By His providence, the line of kings, their descendants,

had continued to the present, and would continue for as long as it pleased Him:

"Igitur ipse Dominus illam sanctam regalem lineam, se sustinentem ab eis, sed non ab eo derelictam, hereditare terram simul et regnare volens, felici Scotis omine cum sua regali linea gratis conjunxit, ex quibus, eo providente, deinceps et hactenus, regio sedentes in solio pullulant reges, et usquequo sibi placuerint, pullulabunt." 224

The profuse praise Fordun lavished on Margaret and her family put the rest of the English nation in a terrible light for having chosen Harold over the true heir and his family whose rights had been inherited by the Scottish kings.

Events in England made up the bulk of the entries about nations outside Scotland, and quite a few relate, in one way or another, to the question of English rights to Scotland. The only document Fordun copied into the narrative was the Quitclaim of Canterbury,²²⁵ thereby leaving no doubt that the independence of the Scottish kingdom had not been marred by William's capture. Fordun was equally careful when discussing Edward Balliol's resignation of his rights, first upon his release from the Tower and later to Edward III. He quoted Balliol's speech on the latter occasion in which he complained to the English king that the false Scottish nation had refused to accept him and encouraged Edward III to conquer Scotland for himself. The passage ends with Fordun's blunt statement that Balliol had not given anything to Edward because he had had no rights from the beginning:

"Quia in re hoc quoque notandum est, quia nihil a se dedit, quia nullum jus ab initio habuit, tunc, in manus alterius resignavit." 226

Fordun's pride in the Scots' independence inspired his hatred of the nation which had spent most of the preceding century invading his kingdom, and he assumed his audience shared his feelings in his eulogy for James Douglas. The hammer of the English had been granted

so much grace by God that he had triumphed over the English everywhere:

"Iste Jacobus diebus suis fortis malleator fuit Anglicorum, cui Dominus tantam gratiam in vita sua contulit, ut ubique locorum Anglicis triumphavit." 227

Wicked Edward I,²²⁸ who was shown to have plotted continually against the Scots, had a long career as the great villain of the Chronica.

In the entry for the English king's death, Fordun claimed he had stirred up war as soon as he had become a knight, abused the English and troubled the world with his evil and moved it with his cruelty as he hindered passage to the Holy Land, invaded Wales, subdued Scotland and imprisoned its king, ravaged churches, murdered churchmen, and slaughtered innumerable people:

"Hic in principio militiae suae bella movens, Anglicos diris flagellis verberavit, et suis nequitiis totum orbem perturbavit, et crudelitate commovit, passagium terrae sanctae suo dolo impedivit, Walliam invasit, et Scotos cum regno sibi fraudulenter subegit, Johannem de Balliol ipsius regem cum suo filio carceri mancipavit, ecclesias stravit, praelatos vinculavit, et carcerali squalore quosdam extinxit, populum occidit, et alia infinita mala perpetravit." 229

Edward's crimes were innumerable, but his greatest had been to try to conquer Scotland.

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Generally, the entries in the Chronica which do not record Scottish events relate to Scottish history or provide a backdrop by setting the Scottish episodes in a world context. They also dealt with Scots outside their kingdom; for instance, Fordun boasted about the holiness of Malcolm and Margaret's two daughters whose marriages had taken them abroad. He rarely seemed concerned with foreign events for their own sake, although he quickly reviewed the early history of the Franks in chapters not essential to the readers' understanding of the Franco-Scottish alliance. Even the natural wonders which caught his attention usually affected Scotland, as when the sun turned red and

a lunar eclipse foretold disasters in many kingdoms.²³⁰ Entries on such wonders were not very common, not because such things did not interest Fordun or his audience, but because they were not relevant to Scottish history. Fordun always kept his purpose in mind, to establish the historical precedents for Scottish independence beyond any reasonable doubt. Interesting as they may have been, events and marvels from outside Scotland were not much use to him.

These same criteria applied generally to his choice of entries about the church and divine participation in human affairs. God was the ultimate cause of everything. Bruce had been guided by One about whom was written, "There is no wisdom, prudence or counsel against the Lord, who knows how to snatch the pious from temptation, and mercifully deliver those who put their hope in Him from danger":

"ipso ducente de quo scriptum est: "Non est sapientia, non est prudentia, non est consilium, contra Dominum, qui novit pios a temptatione eripere, et in se sperantes a periculis misericorditer liberare." 231

Those well versed in history were not surprised that He who ruled all kingdoms and kings rewarded and punished them according to their merits, as He had the Picts.²³²

This attitude affected Fordun's view of his nation, for if the Scots could not claim sole credit for the wonderful things they did, God's continuing support of them against their enemies indicated their special position as one of His chosen peoples. Fordun wrote his origin myth in such a way as to leave the analogy between the Scots and the Israelites unmistakable and led to the conclusion that the Scots had always been under His special protection.

God's care for the Scots was noted by Fordun particularly in moments of crisis and triumph. After the Scots had annihilated the Picts, Fordun concluded that God had intended one monarchy be formed

from the two kingdoms:

"Sic quidem Deo concedente factum est, ut, totum sub circio finem Albionis in monarchiam omnium regum primus suscipiens unum feliciter regnum compegerit e duobus". 233

When civil war broke out between Malcolm, son of Kenneth, and Constantine and Grime, God settled the troubles and saved the nation.²³⁴ Much later, He supported the Scots throughout the Wars of Independence, primarily by sending them Robert Bruce. He also brought victories to Wallace and to the faithful who met the English at Roslin, putting their trust in God and, though they were like a handful of corn compared to the sands of the sea, they won through the strength of God:

"spem suam in Domino ponentes, ad pugnam et ferocissimi et alacres processerunt, ... scilicet post varia cruciamina, et diros conflictus, non vi humana sed virtute divina subjectis hostibus, Scoti, qui, respectu partis adversae, numero erant paucissimi, velut si pusillus frumenti vel farinae multitudinē arenae maris coaequaretur, felici et jocunda potiti sunt victoria." 235

And when Edward III invaded Scotland after Edward Balliol's resignation of his rights, part of the English fleet looted a church dedicated to the Virgin and kidnapped two monks from Holyrood. Through the Virgin's intercession, Christ sent a wind which sank the ships, killing all on board except the Scottish monks, a sign that the Scottish nation would also be saved:

"Illud miraculum Deus Omnipotens precibus suae matris pro salute gentis Scotorum tempore illo dignabatur demonstrare." 236

A corollary of His promotion of the Scots was His punishment of the English for their manifold sins. The English had once been devout but gradually, their virtue left them until it seemed that they were unequalled in treachery or guile. They hated piety and justice, and were prone to civil war and the spilling of innocent blood, so God had sent the heathen against them:

"In Anglorum quidem ecclesia primitiva clarissime resplenduit religio, ... Processu vero temporis adeo in eis omnis virtus emarcuit, ita ut nulla gens proditioe vel fraude eis consimilis

videretur. Nec erat eis invisum aliquid nisi pietas et justitia; nec quicquid provisum, nisi bella plusquam civilia, et sanguinis effusio innocentum. Misit igitur eis Deus omnipotens gentes paganas et crudelissimas, velut apum examina, quae nec quidem sexui muliebri aut parvulorum parcerent aetati, Danos scilicet, et Norguigenses, Gothos et Suethodos, Wandalos et Friscos". 237

In the fourteenth century, it was the turn of the Scots under Bruce to mete out God's judgement on the English who had once been victorious but were now vanquished and groaning:

"Dei virtute, gens Anglorum perfida, quae multos injuste cruciaverat, jam justo Dei judicio diris subicitur flagellis, et, quae victrix extiterat, jam victa gemens succumbit." 238

The Scots, it seems, were higher in the eyes of God than those who claimed to be their overlords.

God not only protected the Scots, he corrected them as well, as when He had William captured by the English in order to temper his fierceress which would otherwise have led the king to evil.²³⁹

This drastic cure was a success; William reformed and was allowed to perform a miraculous cure at York, proof that God was pleased with him, as was his blissful death.²⁴⁰

William's brother, Malcolm, had lived like a monk, an angel on earth, and had been taken from the world by angels sent from Heaven; he returned in a vision to tell a monk that he had at last obtained his true kingdom.²⁴¹ Examples of pious Scots were not limited to the royal family. There were numerous Scottish missionaries and saints. St. Columba, in particular, interested Fordun. He named all the monks who accompanied Columba from Ireland, and discussed the meaning of the name of a man no less miraculous than venerable, the founder of monasteries and the father and instructor of many monks:

"ex Hibernia venit in Scociam sanctus presbiter et abbas Columba, vir vitae non minus mirabilis quam venerabilis, monasteriorum fundator, et multorum pater et instructor monachorum." 242

Only the Scottish church was important to Fordun. Its independence from the rest of the church structure, and especially from the English metropolitans, had been vindicated by the monk, Gilbert; Fordun quoted his speech at the Council of Northampton at length. Similarly, legates were shown to threaten this autonomy and, once, the realm itself when one tried to order certain Scottish magnates to appear before him outside Scotland. Alexander III forbade their departure since the order was against his privileges and those of the kingdom. This case, Fordun said, was still pending when he wrote:

"Quod factum est contra privilegia regis et regni Scocie, ut aliquis estra proprias fines ad alicui respondendum vocaretur. Rex autem perpendens, non solum se et regnum suum ac suos hiis citationibus gravari, sed et privilegia sua antiqua in hac parte adnullari: cum ipse secundum leges regni sui paratus esset hanc causam determinare, non ulterius se et regnum indebite sustinens aggravari, contra dictum Poncium ad summum pontificem appellavit, et sic sub discussione haec lis adhuc pendet." 243

Earlier, during the reign of Alexander II, those ecclesiastics who paid great sums to an avaricious legate in order to be absolved from the interdict which had, for no apparent reason, been imposed on Scotland, deserved to be abused. They had feared more for their robes than for their consciences and had accepted a man's judgement instead of that of God. Their experience would teach others to guard their privileges and the kingdom's liberties:

"Contigit autem, justo Dei iudicio, ut, quia in perturbatione sanum consilium sequi noluerat, sed timentes suae tunicae magis quam conscientiae de non solo iudice suum iudicem fecerunt, tyrannidem ipsius experte, pro suis privilegiis et regni libertatibus tuendis de cetero velle contendere didicerunt." 244

Still, Fordun must have been pleased that Walter Wardlaw, bishop of Glasgow, had been made a cardinal and legate for it is one of the two entries for 1384 in the annals. He must have expected better treatment from a native legate, after describing how the Scots had defied most

legates and had tended to ignore papal commands.

The Chronica never praised the pope, not even when he decided in favour of the arguments put forward by Baldred Bisset; in this case, Fordun only commented that the embassy had obtained relief from the trouble the English king had made in the curia.²⁴⁵ It may be a measure of Fordun's antipathy towards the pontificate that he included more information on the history of the French and of the miserable Picts than he did about the bishops of Rome.

His faith, however, was orthodox, and he accepted the pope's right to excommunicate even if he did not believe that circumstances in Scotland always justified his doing so. The excommunication of Robert Bruce must have been a great blow to whatever loyalty Fordun gave to the pope. He could not deny that the sanction had been justified, so he ignored the issue altogether and never said who had murdered John Comyn. Instead, Fordun explained that later Bruce had to send an embassy to the curia which had been turned against him by the lies of his enemies under the same circumstances, it would seem, as had been confronted by Bisset. Fordun's reverence for the man he saw as a saviour, and his faith, would not allow him to admit that Bruce was a murderer and an excommunicate.

The start of the Great Schism would have done nothing to strengthen Fordun's sense of duty to the meddling hierarchy outside Scotland; perhaps he was sympathetic with those of his contemporaries who denounced the institution of the papacy.²⁴⁶ From the evidence in the Chronica, Fordun was a devout Catholic who was loyal to his kingdom's church, but as elsewhere, he was either uninterested in, or antipathetic to, what went on outside his own kingdom.

. . .

Fordun's sense of nationality had been nurtured by stories of the

Wars of Independence. Skene may have been correct in concluding that Fordun's original purpose had been to establish that the Scottish kings represented the true Saxon royal line,²⁴⁷ but eventually this became just one facet of the defence of the independence of the Scottish kingdom in which he used it as a weapon against English claims to Scotland. In the final version of the Chronica and its annals, Fordun's consuming preoccupation was the defence of this independence. He must have shared the relief felt in Scotland at the death of their inveterate enemy, Edward III, who had thirsted for Scottish blood.²⁴⁸ Scotland may have been more secure than it had been in decades, but the English would not give up easily, and Fordun produced a history designed to nullify all their arguments which he had come across in Scotland and abroad.

The Chronica he produced suited his purpose admirably and must have pleased his audience, for it was the source of the outline used by most authors who compiled histories after him. They often expanded Fordun's work and inserted a great deal of material of their own, changing the scope and emphasis of the narrative. But until John Major published his Historia, very few historians contradicted Fordun's chronology, for like him, most of them accepted the need for these myths. Bower was the first Latin author in this tradition whose work has survived, and it is through him, as the continuator of the Chronica, that most later writers became acquainted with Fordun's narrative.

"Ad propositum redeamus, cum manu capimus
chronizare, non philosophari."
-Bower

Walter Bower's Histories

Fortunately, Walter Bower is not as much of a mystery as the man whose work he continued. Bower told his readers a bit about himself in his histories, the Scotichronicon and the Book of Cupar.¹ Still more can be found in the records, for Bower was active in the affairs of church and state after his appointment to the abbey of Inchcolm.

In his entry for the invasion of southern Scotland by Richard II in 1385, Bower noted that he had been born in Haddington that year:

"Eodem anno Ego ipse qui hac cronicas recollegi et ut cernitis compegi dum utero matris mee natus sum mundo in villa de hadynton". 2

The first reference to him in the records is the authorization of his appointment to Inchcolm which described him as an Augustinian canon of St. Andrews.³ Bower must have gone to St. Andrews at the age of fourteen or fifteen while Walter Trail, who died sometime before 1 July 1401, was still bishop, as he claimed over forty years later to have known the bishop well.⁴ Bower seems to have worshipped Trail, his strict discipline and his energetic direction of his diocese. This enthusiasm may have been sparked by the kindness and encouragement shown to him as a young scholar, for Bower explained that despite his many duties, Trail would wander through the priory cloisters, inquiring about each canon's studies and assignments, instructing them and praising their work:

"(Trail) perlustrans in claustris canonicorum cellas. et ab unoquoque inquires in quo libro ... studebat. conferens cum eis. et instruens eos. ac si magister eis fuisset specialiter commissus. scriptores multum collaudans et operosos." 5

Bower also referred to one of his teachers, James Biset, who was prior of St. Andrews from 1394 to 1416, and was "remembered for his encouragement of academic learning among his canons".⁶ Bower's capsule biography of Biset reflects this; many of Biset's disciples, whom he had imbued with his discipline, became pastors elsewhere, including the

bishop of Ross and the abbots of Scone and Aemonia (Inchcolm).⁷

St. Andrews had been a paradise under his care:

"Sancti Andreae tunc claustralis paridusus ad suavem spirantis austri clementiam, quasi tot floribus vernabat, quot virtutum viris insignibus abundabat, quando in claustralibus cerimoniais, in diebus hujus Prioris viguit monastica compago." 8

Biset had probably studied in Paris before lecturing there and, it seems, at Avignon, and it is likely that he encouraged his students to do likewise. Bower never betrayed any first-hand knowledge of the Continent, but his defence of the Auld Alliance in parliament and his interest in France perhaps point to a connection with that country. He probably received his first degree, that of Bachelor of Decrees, in Paris⁹ sometime before his appointment to Inchcolm was confirmed on 29 November 1417.¹⁰ He must have gone abroad to study sometime before the foundation of the University of St. Andrews. He said nothing about having been present at the opening ceremony, but he seems to have been in St. Andrews at the time as he commented later that he had seen a certain kind of diseased fish many times at Inchcolm and also at St. Andrews "in principio fundacionis universitatis eiusdem".¹¹ Considering Biset's enthusiasm for the new University, if Bower had not yet earned his degree, he would undoubtedly have matriculated there.

In a papal supplication on Bower's behalf, dated 22 November 1420, he was said to have a second degree, that of Bachelor of Theology. He may have completed these theological studies while he was in Scotland playing the new broom at Inchcolm, and so presumably would have received the degree from St. Andrews. Conversely, the granting of the second degree may simply have been a scribal error for it is not mentioned elsewhere either in the records or in Bower's writings. He claimed, however, that Biset had had such a remarkable effect upon his

pupils that two became licentiates and five bachelors of decreets;¹² he never mentioned a bachelor of theology.

Bower remained a canon of St. Andrews until 1417 and his promotion to Inchcolm at the age of 32; he was still comparatively young to receive the appointment, "a fact which speaks eloquently of his attainments and personal qualities."¹³ He was consecrated at Dunkeld by his bishop, Robert "Cardine" (Robert de Cardeny) on April 17 of the following year.¹⁴ Bower's ambitions matched his qualifications; Inchcolm was, initially, to be a stepping stone in his career, and the next step he had in mind was to Holyrood.

According to a rival candidate for that appointment, Patrick Wotherspoon, the pope had granted a supplication on 2 August 1420 sent by Bower about the abbot of Holyrood.¹⁵ Unfortunately, what the supplication contained is not known, but on the strength of its having been signed, Bower brought charges against the abbot, Henry Dryden. Dryden had been appointed only recently, but he had made a technical blunder in the course of winning Holyrood which left his position there vulnerable.¹⁶ Bower neglected to proceed against Dryden in court, more than likely because he felt secure once the Pope had granted another supplication on 22 November 1420 in which he had asked to be granted Holyrood.¹⁷ No matter how fond Bower came to be of Inchcolm, in 1420 he was willing to resign it¹⁸ in order to become the head of a house which was almost four times richer in terms of minimum annual income than his own abbey,¹⁹ as well as being the more prestigious. His promotion seemed assured, so William Bel, Augustinian canon of Scone, was granted his supplication that Inchcolm be reserved for him upon Walter Bower's departure for Holyrood.

Both of them were to be disappointed when Patrick Wotherspoon forced Dryden from office and became abbot himself, with the support

of the governor, the Duke of Albany. Wotherspoon and Dryden apparently remained on good terms, and Dryden was able to use his family connections with the bishop of St. Andrews to get a generous settlement for himself.²⁰ Abbot Wotherspoon proceeded to supplicate the pope to have the threat of his rival, Bower, removed. Bower had neglected his case against Henry Dryden and in the meantime, the Vatican had published a constitution "containing a penalty against the movers of such causes". So on 2 March 1423, the pope granted Wotherspoon's request "lest in future the impetration made in favour of Patrick by the Governor and others should be rendered useless, ... that the Pope ... would exclude ... Abbot Walter from his alleged impetration and citation".²¹ Wotherspoon had been able to quash Bower's claim, and the abbot of Inchcolm's plans for a transfer to Holyrood had to be abandoned, at least temporarily.

Then, in 1436, Holyrood's internal troubles gave Bower a second chance. A canon there, John Kers, brought traditional charges against his strongly conciliarist abbot, Wotherspoon, who had been one of the Scottish delegates to Basle.²² When the abbot was found guilty of dilapidation of his abbey's goods, the pope seized this opportunity to rid himself of the defiant Wotherspoon whom he suspended on 6 March 1436 at the same time appointing Bower administrator of Holyrood and empowering him to pay prosecutor Kers' expenses.²³ This papal command was not respected and a fortnight later Bower's procurator in Florence informed the apostolic camera that the suit against Wotherspoon was still pending, but that if Bower should eventually have peaceable enjoyment of the administration, he would pay the common service.²⁴ The recalcitrant convent ignored Bower's attempts to assume control, whereupon he had them publicly excommunicated, to no effect. Wotherspoon "never ceased to exercise the administration"²⁵ and had

Kers kept under arrest within the abbey.²⁶ The hapless Kers resigned his office of prosecutor and the convent appealed to the pope.²⁷ If the pope had intended to appoint Bower abbot of Holyrood, he had been outmanoeuvred by Wotherspoon and realized that the abbey would suffer if the issue were not settled. So, he absolved the convent from the sentence of excommunication while an investigation was in progress. The papal agents must have decided in favour of Wotherspoon, for nothing more was said about finding a replacement for him.

Although he may not have meant to stop at Inchcolm for thirty-two years, Bower's ambition apparently did not affect his care of his abbey. He must have turned first to the abbey's accounts, for by 18 December 1419, Robert de Lanyn, Provost of the Chapel Royal of St. Mary of St. Andrews, had received a papal commission allowing the abbot and convent of Inchcolm to revoke all grants which alienated the goods of the abbey.²⁸ Robert de Lanyn summoned four of those who had detained Inchcolm's property or were in arrears with their rent to present their cases on 23 February 1420.²⁹ While some of these claims may have been settled that winter, the payments due from the vicarage of Cramond were the subject of appeals for years,³⁰ as was the dispute with the bishop of Dunkeld over the vicarage of the church of Dalgety.

William had granted Inchcolm the parsonage of Dalgety with its chapel of Beath between 1165 and 1178; the vicarage later created was normally served by the canons of Inchcolm.³¹ Contrary to their having governed the vicarage "beyond the memory of man", the convent complained that the bishop of Dunkeld had appointed John de Bullok to the benefice which he occupied for sixteen years prior to Inchcolm's supplication to the pope claiming that presentation rightfully belonged to them.³² They claimed that Bullok recognized that he had no right to the vicarage which he resigned to the pope, so the abbot and

convent asked that the pope ratify William's grant and all the consequences, "and also that, confirming the annexation of the ecclesiastical land and chapel of Bethe (Beath), he would provide them anew with the above vicarage of Dalgeti".³³ This supplication was granted on 8 May 1420, and the next month a papal letter was sent to the abbot of Dunfermline instructing him "if he finds the facts to be as stated, to confirm the donation ... (of) William to ... Inchcolm."³⁴ The bishop of Dunkeld, Robert de Cardeny, must have disapproved of having a canon serve a parish,³⁵ and was, moreover, determined to defend his right to appoint the vicar of Dalgety, but Bower was equally pertinacious. Six years later, on 17 March 1426, a notarial instrument was drawn up at Perth recording that the bishop had refused to allow the papal letter sent to the abbot of Dunfermline be read when an attempt had been made to deliver it.³⁶ By this time, the legal wrangling had become expensive and laborious, so both sides agreed to abide by the sentence of chosen arbiters and on 1 May 1427, they asked the pope to ratify this compromise.³⁷ It is possible that the decision favoured Inchcolm, if the vicarage can be included as one of the pertinents of the parish church of Dalgety listed, along with Inchcolm's other churches, in a later bull granting papal protection to the abbey.³⁸ As an example of Bower's tenacity in safe-guarding the customary holdings of the abbey, this case is outstanding.

As well as prosecuting any and all who encroached upon Inchcolm's rights in any way, Bower ensured that wear and loss of the abbey's charters would not lead to forfeiture of any of their possessions by having two volumes of copies of the charters made. His enthusiasm for this project was so great that he copied the first of these, the "Great Transumpt", himself, completing it sometime before 5 September 1420.³⁹ The second one was certified authentic on 12 May 1423, and together

they must have proved useful when Bower pursued those who had abused Inchcolm.

As abbot of Inchcolm, Bower was the recipient of a number of papal mandates. It is difficult to know how much work these would have involved since most of them were concurrent, usually addressed to two other clerics as well, and many were simply notifications of decisions already implemented or papal confirmations of the status quo. Still, if Bower had repeatedly failed to do what was necessary to fulfill the mandate or had been particularly lackadaisical in his duties, it may be assumed that the exasperated clerks in the curia would have found some way to avoid calling on him. As it was, Bower received concurrent mandates demanding a variety of services fairly regularly up to and including the year of his death.

As the failure of his first attempt to win Holyrood indicated, Bower did not enjoy the favour of the Duke of Albany. This probably recommended him to James I who chose him as an auditor of the tax collected to pay his ransom;⁴⁰ Bower later explained that this tax had been very difficult to collect especially during the second year when he had been unable to collect as much as he had in the first.⁴¹ As auditor, he would have been at the parliament which began on 12 March 1425 to witness the arrest about a week later of the Duke of Albany which he was to describe in his histories.⁴² Bower may also have been present at the executions of Albany, his two sons, and the earl of Lennox which he recorded in particular detail in the Book of Cupar, where, despite the Duke's having hampered his chances of promotion and Bower's very great admiration of James I, he wrote ungrudgingly about the Albany Stewarts. Albany's heir, he said, was physically powerful, extremely pleasant, beloved by all, and yet, he was convicted of roborea⁴³ and beheaded. His reputation was such that not only those

who knew him mourned his death, but also many who had never seen him. Duke Murdoch and Alexander Stewart were inferior to him in no way, but they were also condemned, along with his maternal grandfather:

"(Walter Stewart was) homo procerissime stature. amantissime persone. sagacissime eloquentie. omnibus placentissimus. dilectus universis. et tandem per assisam de roborea convictus: ante castrum decollatus est. Cuius mortem deplorant non solum qui eum noverat. sed eciam ob predicabilem ipsius famam qui eum nunquam viderant ... (his father and brother) non inferioris proceritati et condecencie homines gigantie stature necnon eorundum galtheri et Alexandri ex parte matris avus ... capitali suam condempnati sunt." 44

Bower may have been at court again sometime during 1426 to witness the king's intercession in a duel in Edinburgh which he later recorded.⁴⁵ He would also have been present at the surrender of the Lord of the Isles in 1429 for he had to take the countess of Ross, Mariota, into custody; she was to spend over a year on Inchcolm⁴⁶ and it seems likely that its abbot would have escorted her from Holyrood to her prison. Bower must have been a reliable tax collector; he was called upon again in 1431,⁴⁷ and 1433 when the king proposed a tax to cover the expenses of Princess Margaret's marriage to the Dauphin Louis.⁴⁸ Some of this levy was collected and in 1435 Bower was one of the agents who received Dunfermline's contribution for the last two years.⁴⁹ But according to Bower, the people began to murmur against the king, so James ordered that what little had been collected should be returned⁵⁰ and that all the retainers who accompanied the princess should pay their own expenses.⁵¹ Bower's arduous experiences as tax collector had taught him "that taxes are not easily levied"⁵² and led him to conclude that they could only be justified under certain circumstances, among which he did not number the financing of royal weddings, no matter how prestigious.⁵³

The only reference to Bower's having taken part in any parliamentary debate is found in his histories when he modestly pointed out that the

ambassadors who came from England with popular peace proposals were confronted in parliament by an abbot Walter and the abbot of Scone. The latter was Adam de Crennach who had probably been a friend of Bower's from their days as canons of St. Andrews. These two insisted that James could not make peace with the English because he was still bound by the alliance with France.⁵⁴ Bower later spoke well of his opponents, but was nevertheless pleased to have been able to fend off this threat to the Franco-Scottish alliance.

Bower was appointed to a committee of causes by parliament in January 1434⁵⁵ and was more than likely present the next year when the earl of March was deprived of his earldom.⁵⁶ Soon after this, Bower seems to have tried to bring what influence he had in the central government to bear on Inchcolm's campaign to regain its property when he questioned Sir John Forrester, chamberlain of Scotland, about one of Forrester's deputies who had mistakenly assigned a tenement belonging to the abbey to Hugh Scot. Forrester reserved his judgement on the case, but assured Bower that a delay would not prejudice the abbey.⁵⁷

When writing in 1443 or thereabouts, Bower complained that having been deprived of their king, James I, the Scots had been left defenceless and suffering until James II could quiet the kingdom and bring back justice:

"Longum reputamus advertum tuum, O rex! ad aetatem virilem, qua valeas nos, quotidiana tyrannide turbatos, rapinis et spoliis depressos, de tribulatione, qua nos deprimur, erigere, leges dictare, justitias exercere, ut liberes pauperem a potente, et pauperem, cui, praeter Deum, non est apud nos alius adjutor." 58

Unfortunately, Bower was inexplicit, and remained silent about what efforts, if any, those who had custody of the king were making to counter this lawlessness. His silence is not evidence of ignorance

on his part. Bower attended two general councils, witnessed two royal charters, and made his last recorded appearance in parliament at Edinburgh in July 1445 when he was appointed to another committee of causes. In 1441, James II erected Inchcolm's lands into a barony in order to help them repair the damage done by pirates.⁵⁹ Bower must have thought it expedient not to be too specific in naming the culprits, if only for the sake of his abbey.

In the introduction to his edition of the Scotichronicon, Walter Goodall stated that in 1441 Bower set aside the greater part of his work as abbot to take up the tranquil study necessary to continue Fordun's history.⁶⁰ Bower was writing in 1441, but had not retired from royal or papal service, as this brief account has shown. He began compiling his continuation sometime in the autumn of 1441 and was writing chapter 8 of Book I on 7 November.⁶¹ He finished the history of the bishops of St. Andrews in Book VI sometime after September 1442.⁶² Bower reached chapter 14 of Book XI by 1444;⁶³ in the meantime, he must have compiled the history of papal schisms which eventually found its way into Book XVI, part of which is dated 1443.⁶⁴ His work could not have slowed, because in 1444 he came to Book XVI, chapter 16, sometime in or soon after, October; in that chapter, Bower described the infant James, born to James I and his queen on 16 October 1430, as "nunc ... superstes et rex annorum XIV."⁶⁵ At this point, Bower may have set his work aside, as he may not have come to chapter 27 of Book XVI for three years, when he recorded the death of the chancellor in 1447.⁶⁶ Alternatively, Bower revised this manuscript until his death, so it seems more likely that he inserted this entry after the work had been completed. Similarly, he seems to have tacked on an entry dated 1447 about the election of a new pope to the history of papal schisms.⁶⁷

In his prologue to the Scotichronicon, Bower acknowledged that he had been asked to transcribe and continue Fordun's narrative by one of the local landowners, Sir David Stewart of Rosyth, with whom he would have become acquainted after his appointment to Inchcolm. Stewart was surely a source of information about events of the fairly recent past in which his family had participated; the stories he had learned about his father, Robert Stewart, who had accompanied William, Lord Douglas, on his invasion of Ireland in 1388, may have found their way into Bower's histories, as did the news David Stewart brought back to the abbot from his trip to Inverness in August 1428.⁶⁸ Other possible informants were the Setons, landowners near his native Haddington;⁶⁹ Bower claimed to have known William, his son John, and his grandson William well.⁷⁰ John Seton, as Master of the Household, would have been able to supply Bower with more information about James I's court.⁷¹

The names of other authorities are scattered throughout his histories, but Bower never mentioned any studies he had undertaken specifically to prepare for his project. He had already read widely and was able to draw on past researches, as when he substantiated his arguments about the overlordship of the priory of Coldingham by drawing on the discoveries he had made while perusing the priory's chartularies sometime around 1424.⁷² His authorities included popular Scottish authors like the poets Thomas de Barry⁷³ and John Barbour; his critique of Barbour's genealogy of the Stewarts is proof he did not depend on previous authors blindly or without question,⁷⁴ although he could not always make up his mind as to their relative worth. At the end of the Book of Cupar, Bower craved his readers' indulgence; they should not blame him if they found contradictory entries in his work, neither should they be surprised by this, as he had consulted diverse

books and, not knowing what to omit, he left it to the reader to decide what to believe:

"Et si in libro contrarietates invenerit mihi non imputet. nec miretur. quia sicut in diversis codicibus inveni: cancellam nesciens partem probabiliorem elicere: sed legentis discrecioni communitere. quacunque partem voluerat respuere vel admittere." 75

Bower continued to revise this text up to the time of his death,⁷⁶ while bowing, only slightly, to his public's demand for an abridgement by producing the Book of Cupar. This was an abridgement only in name; it mirrors the Scotichronicon in its themes and tone, and while Bower did omit a number of chapters, he added enough material to make the omissions seem merely a token effort. He also worked on this manuscript until near the time of his death which seemed imminent to him while writing about his birth in 1385. Bower felt he was at death's door after a life which seemed to have passed so quickly:

"utinam huic mundus transiturus de mundo cum iam me in anuis constitutum esse recognosco. cotidie morior cum cotidie demitur aliqua pars vite mee. quinque etates hominis pertransivi, et ut mihi videtur.usque ad hesternum quicquid transit temporis perit Sed et hunc ipsem diem quem ago cum morte divido." 77

Bower probably finished this second version of his history not long before he died on Christmas Eve, 1449.⁷⁸ Father Hay thought that Bower was buried before the great altar at Inchcolm, and although there is no substantiating evidence for this, it may be that he was correct.⁷⁹

. . .

The modest abbot of Inchcolm never confessed to being the author of "that Latin Leviathan, the Scotichronicon",⁸⁰ but fortunately, an anonymous scribe of Inchcolm recorded the death of his abbot in the oldest manuscript of the history:

"obiit dominus Walterus B(ow)makar, abbas insule sancti (Colum)be qui scripsit hunc librum." 81

Other authors were fairly quick to abridge his work, and various scribes have made changes in the text, but there is no reason to doubt that Bower was the compiler of the Corpus Christi manuscript from which all other extant manuscripts of the Scotichronicon are derived, ultimately.

Once he had been convinced by Sir David Stewart that he should continue Fordun's narrative, Bower set about writing for the honour of God, the solace of the king and kingdom, and to satisfy the petition of that famous knight:

"ideo ad honorem Dei, ad solatium regis et regni, ad satisficiendum etiam petitioni incliti militis, ad tam insolitum mihi opus aggrediendum stimulantis". 82

Bower compiled his history from the point of view of a Scottish churchman, with the greater emphasis on Scottish; he was extremely loyal to Scotland, its king, the nation, and to the Scottish church. Throughout the Scotichronicon, Bower was writing for other Scots; he praised and criticized them, mourned for Scotland, and, in most extant manuscripts, he finished with the short prayer, "Non Scotus est, Christe, cui liber non placet iste."⁸³

Given Bower's favour towards the Lowlands, and to Lothian and the southeast in particular, the book was bound to be more pleasing to some Scots than to others. From the placenames he mentioned, Bower was most interested in the areas where he had lived and worked, where his abbey held lands or from which it received rents. (See Map 2 and its table) Entries for events outside this area are not only few and far between, they are also set somewhere within a region rather than a specifically named locality, such as the towns which Bower named in the Lowlands, and most frequently in Lothian and Fife. He also reported events in Lothian which, while they may have concerned a resident of that region, would not have been considered important by

an outsider.

Bower entitled both his works Scotichronicon, perhaps borrowing the title from Fordun, although it is not known what the earlier author had called his history.⁸⁴ He considered his work a chronicle, but he did not have to restrict himself to proving a series of arguments as Fordun had done, so Bower used the broadest possible definition of chronicle. As he stated in his prologue, in his book princes would find that they should avoid wars, the religious would learn the rudiments of their rules, laymen would find useful arguments and preachers good examples. If they absorbed these lessons, they would each benefit in their own way:

"In hoc reor volumine invenient principes evitare bellorum et dubiorum eventuum pericula; religiosi percipient regularia rudimenta; seculares salubria documenta; praedicatores exemplaria narramenta: cujus exemplaritate reges cautiores reddentur, religiose regularius instituentur, populares ad devotionem incendentur, et quotquot taedio affecti, lectura ejus laetitiae restituentur." 85

Bower felt obliged to reproduce Fordun's text, including the greater part of the Gesta Annalia, more or less verbatim. Having copied a passage, sentence, or perhaps just a phrase of Fordun's narrative, Bower would tack on his own opinion or new information, sometimes almost as an afterthought, always hesitant to combine any of his own passages or details with the original text. This hesitancy resulted in a great amount of backtracking by Bower in many chapters. Similarly, Bower thought it convenient to append the history of the bishops and priors of St. Andrews as well as a book of episodes drawn from continental history chronologically out of order at the end of Fordun's chronicle proper,⁸⁶ rather than fit them into the appropriate places in the first five and a half books. On the other hand, Bower broke with Fordun's precedent by scattering throughout the Scotichronicon the documents which Fordun had placed at the end of the Gesta Annalia

along with others of his own choice.

Although he kept the same themes and tone as the Scotichronicon, Bower handled his material somewhat differently in a second version of his history, the Book of Cupar finished just before his death. At first, he had intended to abridge his original work; he had discovered that brevity was pleasing to delicate ears and prolixity odious, so he had agreed to pass over various passages and succinctly summarize others:

"Sed quia delicatis auribus grata est brevitās, prolixitas odiosa. Ideo omīssi in hoc scoticronicon abbreviato. diversis incidentiis et notabilibus allegationibus ... hic succinctius tanquam ad summarium". 87

There is a note of sarcasm in this explanation, but if Bower resented the outcry against the length of his original, he was prepared to adapt, if somewhat ruefully.

Bower did miss out a substantial amount of material, especially from the first dozen chapters of Book I and from Book XV, but since he added almost as much, the judgement that this was the Scotichronicon "in an abridged form ... the matter irrelevant to Scottish history being in a great measure eliminated"⁸⁸ proved to be largely unjustified, especially considering that the largest block of material removed from the text was Ailred of Rievaulx's lament for David I.⁸⁹ Most of the changes he made were quite small, involving only the addition or subtraction of a few words or a couple of sentences. Except for chapters 2, 4, and 7 of Book I which simply disappeared, Bower referred the reader back to the Scotichronicon whenever he felt it necessary to do without all or most of a large block of the text; thus, throughout the Book of Cupar, Bower provided references to the book and chapter numbers in the original text where the reader could find the missing chapters. (See Table 2 for omitted chapters)

Many lengthy passages were condensed, but rather than abridge, Bower generally reorganized, turning sixteen books into forty and reshuffling the chapters of the anomolous Book VII, drawn from continental history, amongst the earlier books. (See Table 3) The history of the bishops and priors of St Andrews was removed from the body of the narrative altogether and is to be found in the "liber alius"⁹⁰ which follows Book XL. All this was done in some haste, and it is likely that Bower died before he had a chance to check the manuscript personally. Gaps were left where he had asked the reader to "see above" or "below" for background information but had never found the chapter reference,⁹¹ and there are blank spaces in the text proper.⁹² More important is the absence of any entry for the death of Robert II;⁹³ surely if Bower had had time to proofread his manuscript, he would at least have had the passage from the Scotichronicon, along with its verse, appended to the manuscript in some way.

It is indicative of Bower's attitude when he began this "abbreviated Scotichronicon" that he borrowed the statement from his first prologue which claimed there would be something for everybody to learn from this history.⁹⁴ And true to both prologues, Bower added information on any and every subject he considered useful: theology, political thought, natural science, and even history. Bower did not betray his attachment to all things Scottish until he started to discuss the Wars of Independence; up to that point, he did not appear to have been markedly more interested in secular Scottish affairs than in the church in Europe. With the death of Alexander III, Scotland's political history moved to the fore and never lost its pre-eminence, making Bower's intense sense of nationality abundantly clear. As Bower had little use for ancient history, Fordun's books on the origin of the Scottish nation seemed adequate. On the other hand, Bower drew

up four books for the 109 years from the "Black Parliament" to the death of James I, with one of them reserved for the period of James' personal rule. As there are only sixteen books in the original Scotichronicon, it seems that a disproportionately large number of Bower's contributions concerned the fairly recent past.

The remainder of this chapter will look at the additions Bower made to Fordun's narrative in the Scotichronicon and the changes he made, most of them quite small, to his material in the Book of Cupar. Subjects for which Bower simply copied Fordun, such as the origin myth, will not be dealt with in as much detail as those for which he provided new information. More often than not, Bower shared the opinions of his predecessor, but was more outspoken. So while their styles of writing have little in common, the two historians seldom disagree on essentials.

. . .

Bower followed Fordun's lead in the use of words reflecting the importance of the kingdom and of its head, the king upon whom the security of the whole depended. Each kingdom was said to have its unique gens, with one race separated from the other by political boundaries. The members of each gens shared a common background and had developed their own traditions and character, though Bower's judgements were hardly complimentary except to the Scots:

"Sculptor, dum sculpes Anglos, facies quasi vulpes;
Et Gallos agnos, Normannos fac bene magnos
Ursos; sed Britones apros, Scotosque leones." 95

Nevertheless, Bower felt that each should cling to its distinctive characteristics; pride and the Devil made the old ways contemptible and new abuses and indecent ornaments praiseworthy:

"contempnentibus mores patriae suae antiquos et laudabiles,
quandam novam abusioem, et ornamenta indecentia." 96

The members of a gens were concerned for each other's welfare, the legate Gualo being the exception who proved the rule by favouring the English so conspicuously that Bower concluded Gualo "in tantum Anglicatus ac si esset Anglicus natus".⁹⁷ Conversely, aliens were to be treated with suspicion. In England, John aggravated an already dangerous situation by ignoring the advice of his nobles and accepting that of various disreputable classes, such as the foreign born:

"nulli ferre suorum nobilium se vel consilia sua credens, sed balistarum et rutariorum alienigenarum et advenarum globo constipatus". 98

In reference to English possession of Scottish benefices, Bower appealed to divine law; strangers, especially enemies, were not to live amongst the natives:

"Prohibentur tales alienigenae, maxime inimici, inter regnicolas cohabitare, tam lege Divina, quam humana. Lege Divina, ut NUM:XVIII. Jure etiam canonico prohibetur, Ne quis alienigena inter regnicolas debeat beneficiari." 99

Paradoxically, it seems that the ability to live with aliens in peace had been a sign of the prosperity and justice during Bower's youth when Queen Anabella and Bishop Walter Trail exalted the honour of the kingdom and "alienigenas et extraneos egregie susceptantes et convivantes".¹⁰⁰ Despite this lapse, on the whole Bower seems to have felt that each kingdom should be the exclusive domain of its nation.

Bower did not deviate from the definitions for the words relating to the kingdom and its nation which he found in Fordun. He chose gens to refer to the Scottish nation and its subdivisions, such as the people of Argyll, a "saeva gens et barbara",¹⁰¹ and repeated Fordun's report that "Angusius comes Moravienses cum gente sua" had been destroyed by the Scots' army.¹⁰² Populus was a synonym for gens,¹⁰³ and was also used to describe the laymen¹⁰⁴ and the commons.¹⁰⁵ Natio and terra both retained their meanings, as did regnum, especially as the equivalent

of patria.

The idea of loyalty to a patria did not concern Bower much until he came to discuss the Wars of Independence; then it threatened to preoccupy him. To Bower, the kingdom was the homeland, so the freedom of one meant freedom for the other and resulted in the personal liberty of the inhabitant. Wallace had renewed the wars for "the liberty of Scotland"¹⁰⁶ and was quoted by Bower as urging Bruce to fight "pro patriae propriae liberatione".¹⁰⁷ He also quoted Wallace's declaration that since freedom was the best of all things, he would never submit to slavery, even if all those born Scots were to obey the English king or otherwise lose their liberty; he and his companions would stand for the liberty of the kingdom, obeying no one but their king or his lieutenant:

"Dico tibi verum, libertas optima rerum:

Nunquam servili sub nexu vivito fili.

Et ideo breviter dico, quod si omnes Scotigenae regi Angliae obediant, vel discedat unusquisque a libertate sua, ego et consodales mei, mihi in hac parte adhaerere volentes, stabimus pro libertate regni; et, nisi regi vel locumtenenti ejus, propitius sit nobis Deus, alii non obediemus." 108

Bower had no sympathy for those who failed to do their duty in this respect and refused to praise Bruce much until he had turned "ad liberandum de servitute gentem suam"¹⁰⁹ from the English who "regnum nostrum detinent sine ratione".¹¹⁰ Whatever the reward on earth, the value of a career like Wallace's was appreciated by God and posterity; Edward I's hope that Wallace's horrible death would consign him to obscurity was in vain. An English hermit saw Wallace's spirit freed from Purgatory and carried to Heaven because he had died for the faith and his homeland, and would never submit to the English:

"pro fidelitate et patria sua usque ad mortem legitime decertantes; qui nunquam Anglis se submitit vel homagium praestitit: et ideo fuit sine vae reprobationis vel opprobrii." 111

Furthermore, it was recognized that of Edward I, John of Menteith, and Wallace, only the third was worthy of veneration.¹¹²

The object of this devotion, Scotia, was credited with feelings of its own and could rejoice with its king or be left desolate by his death. The Scots and their kingdom were so closely identified by Bower that he used rex Scotorum and rex Scotiae interchangeably, as Fordun had done; similarly, he referred to regnum Scotiae, clerus Scotiae, proceres Scotorum and magnates Scotiae. Wallace's titles pointed to a possible differentiation, for he was "dux Scotorum, sive custos Scotiae",¹¹³ but this was not followed up elsewhere. Generally, the Scots and Scotland were more or less synonymous; when Edward I challenged Scotorum libertate,¹¹⁴ an answer was made for "jure libertatis regni Scotiae."¹¹⁵

Bower was as contradictory as his predecessor about the exact limits and definition of Scotia which generally referred to the kingdom as a whole. It seems that Stirling was once the boundary between Scotia and Britannia:

"locus regalis et insignis marchialis sive marginalis, Scotiam et Britanniam intermedians sive connectens; sicut patet in circumferentia sigilli communis burgi regii de Strivelyn, in se sic habentis:

Continet hoc in se nemus castrum Strivilense

Hic armis Bruti, hic stant Scoti cruce tuti." 116

Its inhabitants were called gentis Albanicae¹¹⁷ by the Welsh, and

Bower explained that what had once been called Albania was now called Scotia, without ever clarifying whether this "part of the island north of that which is called Britain" was the entire kingdom of Scotland or only that part north of the Forth-Clyde line:

"Sed quare Albania olim, dicitur nunc Scotia, reperitur ibidem. Scotia itaque pars insulae Britannicae dicitur aquilonaris". 118

Bower's devotion to his homeland was tempered by his duty to the

king who had prior claim on the loyalty of his subjects. As in the Chronica, the king and kingdom were indistinguishable; as the quotation from Wallace showed, to fight for the kingdom was to be loyal to the king. There was no notion of allegiance to an impersonal crown.

Bower had apparently given a lot of thought to the role of the king and was outspoken in his choice of Philip I of France as an example of the form and figure of a Christian king:

"Propter quae potest hic Philippus fieri forma et figura, et imago depingi cuicunque regi Christiano: quia propter ipsius laudabiles actus multum affecto, quin et delector, de eo recordari." 119

Unfortunately, few kings did follow his example, and Bower despaired of the quality of modern rulers who forgot their duties so that now kingdoms were not truly kingdoms:

"Nunc autem regna non sunt regna, sed puerilia deliramenta et latrocinia". 120

He devoted a number of chapters to two sets of rules for kings drawn from the Book of the Revelations of St. Brigit of Sweden, some of which seem more applicable to the running of a monastery than a kingdom. The king was expected to read the hours of the Blessed Virgin daily, fast on all the saints' and Virgin's days, distribute one tenth of his income in charity, wash paupers' feet, keep God's law, ostracize excommunicates, and augment the honour of God in his men.¹²¹ The king was to be regal, yet humble before God, should wear his crown on specific days, keep honest counsellors, give a daily audience to his subjects, be pleased with justice and mercy, act only after deliberation, and, at the same time, encourage the spread of the faith.¹²² At all times, he was an example for his subjects as a Christian king, as Boniface told Athelbald:

"Si ergo gentes Deum ignorantes zelum castrimoniae habent,

quid tibi convenit, ... qui Christianus es, et rex? Parce ergo animae tuae, parce multitudini populi, tui pereuntis exemplo, de quorum animabis rationem redditurus es." 123

None of Brigit's rules segregated the secular and ecclesiastical spheres, and Bower found it difficult to delineate the rights of each. He sometimes placed the king securely under the control of the church, going so far as to describe the rebellion of Henry against his father Henry II as analogous to that king's defiance of St Thomas, his spiritual father:

"Secreta etiam forte Dei dispensation actum est, ut filius carnalis insurgeret in patrem naturalem, cum etiam prius Henricus senior insurrexit in S. Thomam suum patrem spiritualem." 124

Bower disapproved of his own kings' interference in ecclesiastical elections, except when they denied benefices to Englishmen. William Wischard's attempts to gain the bishopric of St Andrews sparked off a sermon on the evils of pluralism and the comment that Wischard had used "potius simulatione quam religione, plus regis timore quam sui amore"¹²⁵ to win the bishopric. When compiling the Book of Cupar, Bower removed some of his arguments in favour of clerical opposition to kings who overstepped their rights,¹²⁶ but it is still clear that all good prelates would stand against princes and tyrants to protect the rights of the church and the true doctrine, just as the prophets and martyrs had done:

"Omnis bonus praelatus talis debet esse, ut pro jura ecclesiae, et pro veritate sanae doctrinae audeat stare contra principes et tyrannos, sicut apostoli et prophetae, sicut martyres et confessores". 127

Thus, the king was to accept his ecclesiastical superiors and not interfere in their sphere. But Bower approved of the kings' refusal to allow some of the much criticized legates to enter Scotland and their expulsion of English clerics from Scottish benefices. It seems that the king's freedom of action within the church depended heavily

upon whether or not Bower welcomed his decisions.

Bower did not emphasize the theoretical superiority of the church over the king. Throughout the Scotichronicon and the Book of Cupar, the king was the unquestioned head of the kingdom and the centre of the narrative. What few contributions about secular Scottish affairs Bower made to the early parts of the narrative dealt with the laws of succession, the king's travels, the appointments of his ministers, and their careers. Without a strong king, the safety of the kingdom was jeopardized, as it had been under Robert III when there was great discord amongst the nobles because the sickly king could not control them:

"In diebus hujus regis exstitit in regno magna fertilitas victualium, sed maxima discordia, rixa et briga inter magnates et proceres, quia rex, tanquam corpore invalidus, rigorem nusquam exercuit". 128

As in Fordun, the special need of the kingdom to be led by a strong king was most effectively shown by Wallace's ultimate failure to unite and save the kingdom compared to Bruce's success. But this was a reciprocal relationship, for the king's power was dependent on his subjects' support. There was an element of election in his being made king, though to Bower this was essentially a reminder of the origin of the king's power, as when Alexander III had been chosen king, not just because of his father, but also because of the Scots' natural love of their lord:

"Diligebat supra modum regem patrem jam defunctum: filium etiam, non solum propter patrem, sed et propter naturalem ad proprium dominum dilectionem." 129

Still, this was more than a formality, for in the debate about David II's successor, the "tres status" declared that they would never accept an Englishman so long as there was another heir available.¹³⁰

Similar decisions involved the consent of at least some of the king's

subjects; John Balliol's homage to Edward I had not been valid because he had been forced to give it, it broke the alliance with France, and the three estates had not been consulted: "quamvis sponte sic fecisset, hoc tamen fuit inconsultis tribus regni statibus".¹³¹

Because of the dependence of the kingdom upon the king, Bower had a harsh opinion of those who threatened the monarchy. At the end of his discussion of the rebellion in England which had led to the Duke of Lancaster's taking refuge in Scotland, Bower denounced all such convulsions; nothing was harsher than the intolerable domination of the commons.¹³² These and other traitors received short shrift in the histories, as they had in the Chronica. Perhaps alluding to the minority of James II, Bower included those royal ministers who abused their position, and especially those who used the royal seal to ratify agreements which the king abhorred, in his tally of traitors:

"proditio foret magna, si cancellarius, vel ille qui haberet custodiam sigilli regis, signaret literam pactiones quam rex maxime detestaretur." 133

Devotion to a strong, just king would, hopefully, produce the stability in the kingdom for which Bower yearned. He seems to have revered James I as Fordun had David I; although most of Ailred of Rievaulx's lament for David and a few details of his death were omitted from the Book of Cupar, Bower's eulogy for James was retained more or less intact. The abbot must have considered the king under whom he had worked and about whose court he had been well informed,¹³⁴ the best Scottish example for his royal successors to emulate. Bower was saddened by the instability of the minority compared to the wealth and justice of James I's days. Without a forceful, just king and subjects who were more devoted to their king than to their own profit, the Scots had to hope to find the happiness in Heaven that they could not enjoy on earth. Meanwhile, they had to patiently bear their

adversity and yearn for James II's coming of age:

"Consideranti mihi de instabilitate status hujus regni, utpote in quanta requie opulenta, et justitia optabili, in diebus clarae memoriae domini Jacobi regis nostri defuncti ... respectu fallacias instantis aevi, magis flere libet, quam ulteriorum chronicarum telam retexere. Sed quia coeleste gaudium non nisi per terrenas amaritudines recuperare speramus, ad toleranda patientius adversa, spes felicitatis, quae praesenti miseriae succedit, non corroborat, ut ipsa spes manentis laetitiae leviget tristitiam transeuntis angustiae. ... Longum reputamus adventum tuum, O rex! ad aetatem virilem". 135

. . . .

Bower did not question either Fordun's account of the origins of the Scots or his conclusion that all the present inhabitants of Scotland were Scots. Fordun's success in establishing the independence of the Scots beyond all reasonable doubt is reflected by Bower's lack of interest in expanding extensively on this theme. Ancient history did not fascinate him and in the Scotichronicon, Bower simply repeated Fordun's account of the origin of the Scots and of their early neighbours. He left the history of the Pictish kings out of the Book of Cupar¹³⁶ and added a verse about the inauguration stone which he claimed was ancient.¹³⁷ This account of the Scots' journey from Egypt to Argyll was more or less the same as that already given by Fordun, although its kinglist varied slightly from that Bower had already copied into both his works; this discrepancy must have either passed unnoticed or was not considered important by Bower. (See Table 4)

Fordun's passages on the ancient subdivisions of the Scottish nation, the Moray, Argyll and Galloway peoples, were also deemed adequate by Bower; the subdivisions of the Scots which interested him were those of more recent times, the Highlanders and the factions of the Wars of Independence.

The Highlanders disgusted Bower, perhaps even more than they had Fordun, and the abbot had the freedom to indulge his hatred which his

self-disciplined predecessor had not allowed himself. There was no question about whether the Highlanders were Scots, for all that they lived on the edge of the world,¹³⁸ but all of Fordun's criticisms found their way into both the Scotichronicon and the Book of Cupar. Bower took their worthlessness for granted so he felt it was necessary to explain that the bard in Fordun's description of the coronation of Alexander III was honest: "quidam Scotus venerabilis canitiei senex, quamvis sylvester et montanus, honeste tamen".¹³⁹

Bower felt he should explain their most striking characteristic, their bellicosity,¹⁴⁰ and he cited Vegetius' De Re Militari for a geographical explanation. It seems that northern peoples lived far from the heat of the sun; this gave them an excess of rich blood which made them very quick to go to war and contemptuous of wounds and death:

"Septentrionales populi remoti a solis ardoribus, inconsultiores quidem, sed tamen largo sanguine redundantes, sunt ad bella promptissimi. Tyrones (id est, bellatores) igitur de temperatioribus eligendi sunt plagis, quibus et copia sanguinis suppetat ad vulnere mortisque contemptum, et non possit deesse prudentia, quae et modestiam servat in castris; et non parum prodest in dimicatione consilium." 141

Although their love of war had helped the Scots occasionally in their struggles against the English, it was still one of their greatest faults in Bower's eyes.

Groups with naturally different backgrounds and diverse wishes, never agreed about making laws, a problem which confronted the Scots and the English, or in other words, the Scots from the woods and those from the towns:

"Pro primo, nulla lex potest constitui, nisi concordia voluntate gentis alicujus; quia gens quae est ex una parte impia in seipsa, et ex alia parte multigena, id est distinctis et diversis generibus educata, nunquam bene concordabunt in lege statuenda; quia sicut sunt naturaliter de multis generibus, ita etiam sunt diversificanti in voluntantibus: et ideo valde difficile est, quod gens

multum commixta de diverso sanguine, puta de Scotis, Anglicis, vel de silvestribus Scotis et urbanis, sit concors ad aliquid statuendum sive ad utiliter observandum". 142

Bower blamed the Highlanders for this difficulty, often casting them in the roles of rebels. One of David II's achievements was that he had been able, with great study and industry, to join the Scots of diverse languages, both the indomitable caterans and the learned domestic Scots, in a league under the law of the homeland:

"rebelles castigavit ... et diversarum linguarum tam Scotos silvestres catervanos, quam eruditos domesticos, unius foederis lege patria conjunxit: et hoc non sine magno studio et industria. Nam quia catervani silvestres, transmontani et insulani, quasi indomabiles semper et rebelles regibus Scotiae, et legislatoribus exstiterunt". 143

It was a temporary triumph, and throughout the Scotichronicon, when not disturbing the peace of the king's more civilized subjects, the Highland barbarians¹⁴⁴ fought each other and posed a constant threat to the kingdom.

Those Scots who had supported the enemy during the Wars of Independence were called "Scoti Anglicati"¹⁴⁵ and "the Scots who favoured Edward Balliol"¹⁴⁶ by Bower. Edward II's army at Bannockburn contained many "tam Angliae quam Scotiae Anglicatos",¹⁴⁷ and at Dupplin one "of ours" led Balliol's force to the battle where "multis de nostris ... ab Anglis trucidantur".¹⁴⁸ Later, John of Stirling led a force "tam Anglicorum quam Scotorum Anglicatorum ... ad pacem regis Angliae tunc conversis".¹⁴⁹ These people were still Scots, of sorts, and could regain the right to be called Scots which was their birthright, should they see the error of their ways. When one of the pro-Balliol party changed sides, the phrase used was "ad fidelitatem Scoticanum convertunt",¹⁵⁰ which was the same, to Bower, as "ad fidelitatem regis David venit".¹⁵¹ Even the despicable John of Menteith, who was never called an Anglo-Scot though he certainly fits the

description, was redeemable. In the Book of Cupar, Bower added the story of how this villain managed to extort the earldom of Lennox from Bruce in return for Dumbarton castle, only to lose it through his own treachery against the king. He was put into prison where he remained until the Scots were preparing for the battle of Bannockburn; through the intercession of Menteith's family, Bruce agreed to free him on the condition that he fight in the vanguard. When Edward II learned this, he asked Menteith to do homage and help the English in a trick; Menteith refused this offer and fought manfully, so Bruce rewarded him.¹⁵² Menteith was one more example that the only honourable place for a Scot to be was in "fidem et pacem domini nostri regis".¹⁵³

. . .

Bower proudly declared that his nation had never been conquered:

"Post Britones, Dacos, Pictos, Anglosque repulsos,
Viriliter Scoti jus tenuere suum.
Et Romanorum spreverunt vim validorum.
Exemplo quorum pensate praeteritorum,
Inclita Scotorum proles, laudem genitorum." 154

Similarly, the only antiquity of a secular nature which interested Bower was the inauguration stone; in the Book of Cupar, he quoted a verse history of the ancient Scots which explained the origin of the stone¹⁵⁵ in addition to the accounts already given in the Scotichronicon. Significantly, he explained that Edward I's expectation that bringing the stone to England would smother Scottish independence was counter-productive,¹⁵⁶ for wherever the stone went, the Scots would come to rule:

"Hic rex sic totam Scotiam fecit sibi notam:
Qui sine mensura tulit inde jocalia plura,
Et pariter lapidem, Scotorum quem fore sedem
Regum decrevit fatum; quod sic inolevit:
Ni fallat fatum Scoti, quocunque locatum
Invenient lapidem, regnare tenentur ibidem." 157

Other than to point proudly to their independence, Bower rarely interrupted his narrative to pay tribute to the Scots but he frequently

praised individuals and this reflected well on their nation. The royal family were a credit to the nation; Malcolm and Margaret's children were the progenitors of the dukes of Brittany, the English royal family, and Pope Clement VII. Bower believed theirs was the best line in Europe:

"Saepius mente revolvens, de cujus radice palmites producti pullulastis, intueor ex summa et excellentissima dignitate totius Europae vos originariam particulam taxisse carnis." 158

He also singled out Scots of other social orders, like Wallace and, in the Book of Cupar, Alan of Galloway; the latter was comparable with renowned European knights:

"Francia pipinos. brabantia milite cigne.
Anglia richardo. Galwedie gaudet alano." 159

The escapades of other nobles were not neglected, especially if they shamed the English, but the earls of Douglas loomed almost as large as the king towards the end of the histories. Not only did Bower usually describe the Douglasses as the best knights in the realm, he also passed over many of their more dubious misadventures and he even changed one of Fordun's statements, something he rarely dared to do. He could not accept Fordun's decision that the Douglasses had been traitors to David II; instead, Bower said of them, "Verum conceptum intentionem, ne dicam prodicionem"¹⁶⁰ and hastened to praise David for his choice of mercy over punishment:

"qui tanquam legislator, et qui debuit et potuit transgressionem punire, attamen, misericordia motus, ignoscere praeeligit." 161

Bower may have learned many of his stories about the Douglasses from his friend, Sir David Stewart, whose father had been part of the company which accompanied William, Lord Douglas of Nithsdale, to Ireland.¹⁶²

Perhaps his interest in that family had been sparked by Archibald, earl of Douglas' gift to Inchcolm in 1412, given in the hope of obtaining a favourable wind to sail to Flanders,¹⁶³ as well as by a

genuine respect for the Douglasses.

Bower was also influenced by his piety when choosing individuals to praise; he often drew attention to the faith of various Scots, their work within the church, and the special favour with God the Scots enjoyed. They had produced a great number of saints, among them a queen and a king, for Bower frequently called David I a saint, with another king, Malcolm IV said to have been comparable to Thomas Becket for his piety.

But while he usually allowed the Scots' achievements to speak for themselves or let the nation share the reflected glory of the praise he doled out generously to individuals, Bower was more specific, and longwinded, in his criticisms of the nation, especially their proclivity toward divisiveness and rebelliousness. This is a common thread through the histories, as is to be expected, considering how intensely Bower longed for peace.

Macbeth's rise to the throne had been one of the first manifestations of this weakness. While the majority of the guilty parties were Highlanders or Galloway people, those who were led to take sides in the most devastating division, that between the Bruce and Balliol factions, were drawn from the more respectable elements in the realm. A kingdom divided on itself will be desolate, and acting on this, Edward I, like the Devil, made divisions amongst friends or between brothers:

"Hac enim occasione oritur lamentabilis divisio in regno inter Broisenses, et Comynenses adhaerentes Balliolo. Unde et in hoc verisicatum est quod Dominus dicit: Omne regnum in se divisum desolabitur. Certe Eadwardus assimilari potest Diabolo, cujus tota intentio est facere inter amicos divisiones. De quo scriptum est, OSEAE XI. Ipse inter fratres dividit. 164

The whole nation, and not, for once, only the Highlanders, had to bear the responsibility for the ensuing catastrophes like Falkirk. Why, Bower wondered, did jealousy have such a strong hold on Scotland, for

it is the nature of the Scots to hate not only aliens, but also the happiness of their own patriots. In this case, the defeat at Falkirk resulted in the fall of the clergy and the ruin of the people and the kingdom:

"O aemula invidia! cur in tantum dominaris in Scotia?
Scotorum, pro dolor! natura est odire non solum alienae,
sed et propriae patriotae felicitati. ... Sic per invidiam
procuratus est lapsus cleri, ruina populi, et casus regni." 165

Other Scottish weaknesses led to their undoing at Dupplin where, like the English at Bannockburn, they trusted in their own numbers,¹⁶⁶ thereby "making their own funeral". The Scottish nation could be stupid and proud, which did not bode well for the future:

"De caudis eorum, ut dixerunt, funes sibi facerent, ad seipsos Anglos in crastino vincendos. Sed, O gens Scotica! in armis satis strenua, sed stolidi et superbi! futurorum minus praescia, ambulans in magnis et mirabilibus super te! non attendis ad sententiam SENECAE dicentis, "Quod nunquam in solido stetit superba felicitas." 167

Even the royal family could not escape censure. Bower criticized David II's lustfulness and was scandalized by his marriage to Margaret Logie. Furthermore, if David had listened to William Douglas' advice, the expedition which ended at Neville's Cross would never have left Scotland. Instead, the king chose to listen to his young companions, an example of the pestilence of presumption and of the advice of the inexperienced:

"Quanta igitur mala, ex praesumptione pestifera et juvenili consilio, in hac expeditione provenerunt, sequentia declarabunt. Consilium expertissimum Douglas refutum fuit, et consilium inexpertorum admissum." 168

Later, this expedition ended in David's capture because he had foolishly ignored the warning of St Cuthbert and had invaded the saint's lands.¹⁶⁹

Despite their many defects, Bower preferred his own nation to all others; their virtues and achievements greatly outnumbered their

faults. Even the French, whom he respected, were only a poor second when compared to the Scots; they had been defeated often by invaders, had lost Normandy, and, much later, depended rather heavily on the Scots for their survival. National prejudices and loyalties, as well as his particular inclination to favour the Douglasses probably came into play in Bower's becoming a confirmed Francophile. He believed firmly in the keeping of old laws and customs, such as the alliance with France which he defended personally before James I. And he found much that was laudable in French history, especially the reign of Philip I. His pro-French bias was also a useful foil for abusing the English, for while the French had produced one of the best of all kings, the English had produced the worst.

Bower hated the English. He added a substantial amount of material on events outside Scotland to Fordun's account; much of this was about England, and it was detailed, accurate, and detrimental to the good name of the English. The many extra comments he made in the Book of Cupar were almost all insults, and he had omitted none of those he had first made in the Scotichronicon.

There are a few snatches of respect for his southern neighbours scattered through the narrative, but the reader is hard pressed to find them. Bower was quite enthusiastic about several English saints, particularly St Thomas Becket and St Simon de Montfort. The latter's unlikely claim to sainthood was boosted by the testimony, found in English chronicles,¹⁷⁰ of two angels who had stopped at Glastonbury on their way to Bannockburn where they were to avenge the unjust killing of de Montfort.¹⁷¹ Bower claimed that there were many reports of miracles by St Simon who had fallen at Evesham for the faith and the peace of England, but these had been suppressed because of the English kings' anger:

"Audita sunt plura miracula per S. Simonem comitem de Monteforti apud Eveshame, qui pro fidelitate et pace terrae Anglicanae in bello cum multis corruit: sed propter indignationem regis et regalium, miracula sunt interim repressa." 172

But Bower had an ulterior motive here; as martyrs, St Thomas and St Simon were valuable as propaganda against the English kings who killed them.

Bower may have genuinely admired a few of the kings from before the Conquest, unless he was only following Fordun's lead and was unwilling to modify the chapters on English history Fordun had left. Once the Normans had taken control, Bower had almost nothing good to say about them. William and his immediate successors were damnable, and the Plantagenets damned since they were descended from a devil incarnate. Thus, ancestry was the ultimate explanation for the behaviour of the arch-villain, Edward I; he was a descendant of Geoffrey, the earl of Anjou who had married a devil, and the demon's line had not yet run out:

"Hic rex Eadwardus dicitur decimus tertius ab illo Galfrido comite Andegaviae, qui desponsavit sibi diabolum humana carne velatam ... Quasi tergiflagellam dicitur, et cauda totius faecis sui daemonici generis; sicut a quodam fuit praesagiatum, quod illud genus diabolicum usque ad decimam-tertiam generationem nequaquam expiaretur." 173

Edward seemed like a fiend to Bower, especially because of his attempts to conquer Scotland helped by his henchmen, "manus Sathanae satellitum, suae nationis Anglorum".¹⁷⁴ Edward lied, cheated and murdered his way to a death uneasy by penance. Bower inserted the vision an English knight, William Barrister, was said to have had on the night of Edward's death, in which he saw his king's spirit surrounded by a host of demons who insulted and jeered at him; he who had once abused the people of God was now condemned to be an associate of the demons who dragged him away:

"vidit dominum suum regem in spiritu, uncatum a magna
 multitudine daemonum circumseptem, eidem cum maximo
 cachinno insultantium, et dicentium;
 'En rex Eadwardus, debacchans ut leopardus!
 Olim dum vixit populum Domini maleflixit.
 Nobis viae talis comes ibis, care sodalis,
 Quo condemnaris, ut daemonibus socieris.
 Te sequimur voto prorsus torpore remoto.'
 Cum hoc flagellis et scorpionibus caedentes cum abigebant." 175

King John, while not having the same devastating impact upon
 Scotland as Edward I, still interested Bower who added a great deal
 of information to Fordun's account in both the Scotichronicon and the
Book of Cupar. He especially objected to John's abuse of the church
 and its properties, and reported the prophesies of the Englishman,
 Peter, who foretold the end of John's reign because of these outrages.
 Bower also copied the text of John's charter granting his kingdom to
 the pope as proof of Fordun's claim that, unlike the independent
 Scots, the English did not own their kingdom. Finally, the monk who
 was said to have poisoned John composed a verse which Bower would
 have thought applicable to all English kings:

"Who mourns or would mourn the death of King John,
 Who did little good, but much evil, for many years?" 176

The English were not better than their kings; that nation had
 the face of a maiden, but the sting of a scorpion: "foris eis ap-
 plaudunt vultu virgineo, intus scorpionis pungunt aculeo".¹⁷⁷ They
 were cowardly and therefore excelled in deceit and treason: "prae
 omni alia gente quae sub coelo est, proditionibus magis insistent".¹⁷⁸
 Worse still, they were neither ashamed nor afraid to violate the
 faith which they should have observed:

"Fidei, Scripturae et Sacramenti religionem, quam sibi
 observari velint, aliis praestitam quotidie violare nec
 verecundabantur nec verentur." 179

The Scots, rather naively, were repeatedly fooled by this
 untrustworthy nation; even so, in Bower's narratives the English

could never get the last word. An outstanding example of his ability to turn Scottish necessity into virtue at the expense of the English was William de Dalzel's reply to the Lord of Wellis' taunt that all Scots of any worth were descended from the English occupation forces of the Wars of Independence. Considering the exceptional beauty of Scottish women, Dalzel did not deny that the Englishmen had probably created many children. At the same time, the English lords had left behind their voluptuous wives who, unable to bear chastity, had associated with their servants, cooks and freedmen, rustics and tenants, and sometimes their confessors; the products of these liaisons were not fit for the knighthood. Therefore, Dalzel concluded, we are pleased to have risen from your best elements while you descend from the degenerate:

"Sed quid? certe eo tempore quo domini Angligenae in regno nostro moram pertraherunt, eorum qualescunque conjuges domi relictas, delicate pastas et nutritias, otio vacantes et voluptati, diu nimium maritali carentes copula, et se ultra continere non valentes, nova contubernia affectantes, ad suam domesticatorem familiaritatem, coquos et colibertos, rusticos et colonos, et interdum fratres confessores, invitaverunt; ex quibus procuraverunt, ni fallor, nec militiae habiles, nec ad praelia pugnandum efficaces. Gaudemus igitur quod nos ex vobis surreximus, et generosi efficimur, et vos ex vobis cecidistis degeneres effecti." 180

Bower would not have considered his position as an abbot preaching bigotry paradoxical. Turning the other cheek and brotherly love hardly made an appearance in the sermons he composed for the benefit of his readers; his saints, especially Columba, were vengeful ones, and one suspects that his God was, too. Besides, he would have thought it only natural for a Scot to hate the English and vice versa, as if mutual hatred were inherent in the natures of the two peoples. Bower believed that Wallace, who hated everything English, had gone to Heaven for defending his kingdom. With such clear divine approval, it is unlikely that Bower would have questioned this attitude.

Bower also introduced a large amount of material on events from foreign countries other than England and France, including Italy, Spain, Sicily, the Holy Roman Empire, Flanders, Norway, Ireland, Armenia, the Holy Land, and Egypt. The abbot did not limit himself to the idea that a history of Scotland should be just that and little else as Fordun had. His interest in the outside world dimmed when the narrative arrived at the Wars of Independence, though, and only began to take hold again when the Scots began to play a part in the war against the English in France.

. . .

The abbot's concern for the welfare of the church led him to look outside Scotland, though he was, first and foremost, a Scottish churchman who was devoted to his kingdom's church. While God's influence was omnipresent, He did not often participate in earthly affairs directly. The church, ecclesiastics and saints were all His active agents; most of what Bower added to Fordun's narrative up to the late thirteenth century dealt with their work, both in and out with Scotland.

The greater part of these entries dealt with the church's history within Scotland: the introduction of religious orders, the founding of monasteries, and the good works and miracles of Scottish saints. As an abbot, he considered the succession of bishops, abbots and priors to be very important, so some sections of his work are catalogues of their deaths and replacements.

Bower was equally proud of the independence of the Scottish church, extending the speech by the cleric, Gilbert, against English claims to superiority at the Council of Northampton when the English tried to reduce those whom they should venerate to slavery:

"Quin, tuum velle si facta sequantur, quam omni

venerationis cultu tractare te decet, in ultimam reduceres et miseram servitutem. Vah, proh nefas!" 181

Gilbert declared that if his stand for the liberty of the Scottish church provoked the Scottish clergy or the apostolic lord to whom they were immediately subject, he would submit his neck to the sword:

"Et, ut ulterius verbis audientes non afficiam, quamquam non oneratus, pro libertate tamen ecclesiae mea Scoticae, etsi totus clerus Scotiae aliter senserint, subjectioni eorum dissentio, et hic dompnum apostolicum, cui immediate subjecta est, provoco, et si opporuerit me pro eadem mori, hic caput ensi submitto." 182

It is possible that Bower identified himself with all the rest of Christendom when they were confronted by a common enemy, either invading pagans or heretics. Thus, the crusade "populi de regno Francorum" against the heretics of Albi was described in the chapter "De bello nostrorum contra Albigenses";¹⁸³ many "de nostris"¹⁸⁴ were killed. Bower referred to the crusaders in the Holy Land in the same way. However, it could be that he was only copying his source for these passages without questioning its use of words. Still, considering his abhorrence of heresy, it does seem likely that Bower identified at least with the orthodox who fought the heretics within Europe, if not with the crusaders who went to the Holy Land.

Bower took it for granted that clerics would work within their own kingdoms, as a rule; for example, when the pope called a council of all bishops, a few were chosen to remain behind "in unaquaque patria ob animarum custodiam".¹⁸⁵ Despite this assumption, Bower was annoyed when Scottish clerics were denied their benefices in England, although, as has been mentioned, in a not very Christian manner he demanded the English should be abused in Scotland in the same manner. It is not surprising, he said, that it was the nature of the Scots who were so conscientious, or rather, ignorant, that they would allow the English to live amongst them and hold benefices while the

monasteries and even bishoprics of Scotland who had rights to benefices in England were not allowed to send a Scot there. Should they try, the candidate is either vilely ejected or foully murdered; the Scots and English should not be judged unequally:

"Et non modice mirandum est de natura Scotorum, quod sunt ita conscientiosi, vel, ut ita dicam, inscientiosi, quod patiuntur Anglos adhuc infra se cohabitare et beneficia possidere; cum tamen constet diversa monasteria et etiam episcopia Scotia habere plena jura ad beneficia in Anglia, ad quae non permittunt Scotum accedere, vel titulum in eis vindicare; quod si fecerit, aut turpiter ejicitur, aut inhumaniter jugulatur: cum tamen, quantum ad hoc, Scoti et Angli non debent ad imparia judicari." 186

David I and the other wise rulers who followed his example, had the good sense to rectify this inequality properly by banishing all the English benefice holders from his kingdom as a punishment for their many conspiracies:

"propter hujusmodi conspirationes et alia in suo regno attentata, omnes Anglos beneficiatos publico edicto perpetuo forbannivit." 187

This was only a temporary setback for the English clerics. The Scots, Bower feared, would never learn discipline; how were they to prosper while nourishing the rivals who always wished to do them harm?

"O stulta Scotia! quae nulla erudiris disciplina. Quomodo poteris prosperari, enutrens semper capitales aemulos, qui tibi voverunt adversari?" 188

Not only should clerics be willing to serve within their own kingdoms, they should be ready to defend it as well. In doing this, they were following the examples of saints like Queen Margaret who told Sir John of Wemys in a vision that she, with her husband and sons, was on her way to Largs to fight the tyrant who was set upon subverting their kingdom:

"Ego sum, inquit, Margareta olim Scotorum regina; miles manu ductus dominus est Malcolmus rex meus maritus; et hi sequaces milites nostri sunt filii, hujus etiam regni, dum vixerant in humanis, inclitissimi reges; cum quibus ad Largis, patriam defensura propero, victoriam actura de

tyranno, qui regnum nostrum nititur et injuste suo subjugare dominio." 189

Church history was important to Bower, and though he forced himself to omit some of the Scotichronicon entries from the Book of Cupar, he added almost as much again in new material on the orders, saints, miracles and the fortunes of the popes. He was fascinated, and revolted, by heresy, selecting the Albigensians, Lollards and Bohemians for scrutiny and dismissing each of their arguments he discussed. His interest was not purely academic, for while the Albigensians may never have been much of a threat to the Scottish church, the Lollards, who brought their faith from England and elsewhere,¹⁹⁰ and the Hussites from Bohemia, were. In 1411, the Council of Constance was informed that "these errors are sown especially in the kingdoms of Bohemia and Scotland"¹⁹¹ when they were discussing heresy. By 1424, it was deemed necessary to pass an Act in parliament "anentis heretikis and Lollardis", ordering all bishops to punish any heretics found within their diocese.¹⁹² These measures were ineffective, for by the time Bower wrote, heresy had a considerable hold on Scotland.¹⁹³ About two decades earlier, Pavel Kravar (Paul Crawar to Bower) had come as an emissary for the Hussites to win Scottish support at the Council of Basle;¹⁹⁴ perhaps Bower had heard him preach or had read some of the Hussite sermons Kravar or some sympathizer had imported. Bower's orthodox faith rejected all their proposals, but he must have taken care when studying them since "he seems in most things to have been fairly well informed on their (the Hussites) doings".¹⁹⁵ As far as Bower was concerned, all heretics had broken the traditional laws and had led souls astray. Their heresy ruined whatever reputations their good works had built, as it had done much earlier to Peter Ab-elard "magistrum insignem, in

opinionone scientiae sed de fide perfide dogmatizantem".¹⁹⁶

Schisms were almost as disturbing to Bower; he deplored the disruption they caused and the damage they did to Christian souls. Furthermore, they created scandal within the Church and brought it into disrepute in diverse kingdoms, including Scotland:

"Per quos in ecclesia Dei maxima scandala, et in diversis regnis, maxime in Scotia, augescunt dissidia".¹⁹⁷
 "Propter quod ecclesia Dei scandalis supponitur, et nimium a laicis infamatur." ¹⁹⁸

God was the ultimate cause of everything, rewarding His chosen people, the Scots, for their piety by allowing His servants to help them, and miracles were fairly numerous in Scotland. Bower was whole-hearted in his belief that the Scots were entitled to this special attention, both the rewards it brought, and to his credit, the punishments. He believed the victory at Bannockburn had been due to the Scottish force putting all its trust in God. The presumptuous English had been humiliated because they had trusted in carts and horses; the Scots called on the name of God, and won:

"O superba praesumptio, et praesumptuosa superbia, quae Anglos quos erexisti continuo depressisti, et quos nuper exaltasti extemplo humiliasti! Hi in curribus, et hi in equis; nos autem in nomine Domini invocabimus. Ipsi obligati sunt et ceciderunt; nos autem surreximus et erecti sumus." ¹⁹⁹

. . .

He was supposed to have been compiling a history of the Scots, but there were many moments when Bower felt it proper to deliver a sermon against any number of vices to his audience. Considering how few of these were removed from the narrative when he compiled the Book of Cupar, and how many more were added, he must have been well-intentioned but insincere when he claimed that he was supposed to record events, not philosophize: "Ad propositum redeamus, cum manu capimus chronizare, non philosophari."²⁰⁰

Bower's eclectic curiosity led him to digress regularly on a wide range of subjects, most of them tenuously linked to the history, theology or moral lessons which dominated his work. He reported innumerable natural disasters, like the slaughter of a considerable number of Burgundians by a mountain which moved away from the rest of its range, crossed a valley, and destroyed all the houses in its path:

"Nam unus maximus mons, se dividens ab aliis montibus, perplura milliaria cujusdam vallis transiens, ad alios montes accessit, et in valle omnes villas terra et lapidibus obruendo." 201

In Haddington, a flood almost destroyed the village of Nungate, leaving John Birley to float, with his animals,²⁰² on his roof to Haddington's bridge: "Now row we merely (merrily), quoth Birley".²⁰³ Elsewhere, Bower commented on Indian royal customs, the probable meaning of the name Haakon, and the importance of archery practice. It seems that Bower defined history in the widest possible sense, and sometimes he seems to have had no higher motive than simply sharing something which had caught his eye when he chose his material.

. . .

Bower reproduced Fordun's address to the Scottish kings, but chose to dedicate his Book of Cupar to God, the Blessed Virgin, St Andrew and St Columba.²⁰⁴ Still, he had written both histories with the young king at least in the back of his mind. He knew that chronicles had been useful before in the governing of kingdoms; yearning for peace and stability, and for the conservation of old secular and ecclesiastical laws, Bower hoped that his works would have some positive effect on the young king, and that Christ would mercifully allow James to remember his ancestors, the distinguished kings:

"Inflammetur igitur, obsecro Altissimum, lectura hujus codicis saltem rex noster modernus, et sic transeat in regimine per bona temporalia, ut aspiret ad aeterna. Orans insuper Christum, quod ipsum ex munere misericordiae suae talem efficiat, ut habemus aliquid aeterna memoria dignum, sicut de egregiis antecessoribus suis regibus, quod ministerio grammatum de se ad posteros transmittamus." 205

James II's reaction to the Scotichronicon or the Book of Cupar, if he ever became acquainted with them, is not known, but Bower's histories proved to be extremely popular amongst his contemporaries and remained so for almost a century after his death, during which time it was copied, abridged and condensed. Its veracity was accepted, by and large unquestioned, until John Major applied his scholastic training to Scottish history.

"The very ink with which all history is
written is merely fluid prejudice."
- Mark Twain

Bower's Disciples

The number of extant manuscripts of the Scotichronicon and the Book of Cupar, both complete transcriptions and abridgements, attests to the demand for Bower's histories in the decades following his death. The authority of his works does not seem to have been questioned, and instead of compiling new Latin histories, scribes copied one or the other of Bower's narratives, with a few interpolations of their own.¹ Although several vernacular chronicles were produced in this period, no completely independent Latin general histories can be found before the publication of John Major's Historia. Portions of Bower's works were tacked on to pre-existing copies of Fordun's history. Similarly, the compiler of the register of the priory of St. Andrews copied a chapter of the Scotichronicon as a reliable authority for precedents in the Scottish church; this chapter of Bower's history affirmed that St. Andrews should have primacy over the other Scottish bishoprics, since St. Andrew was the foremost saint represented in Scotland.²

Despite its prolixity, which even Bower had been forced to acknowledge, at least five complete copies of the Scotichronicon were made. The oldest of these, the Black Book of Paisley, was copied from the Corpus Christi manuscript sometime between Bower's death in 1449 and 1455³, probably at Inchcolm.⁴ Another copy of Bower's original was made between 1464 and 1471,⁵ and was, in turn, the source of three further transcriptions done in 1481, 1484, and 1510.⁶ It was not always readily accepted that Bower was the author of all these copies of the Scotichronicon; for example, the scribe, Magnus Makculloch, was thought to have been the author of one of the two copies of the Scotichronicon he transcribed,⁷ thanks to the colophons to this effect which he had scattered through his manuscript. Makculloch possibly added some bits of information

to the narrative, such as the achievements of James Kennedy as bishop of St. Andrews,⁸ but hardly enough to pretend that his transcription was an independent narrative. As Hearne indicated in his edition of Fordun, it was common practice for scribes to put their own names on works they had copied, and this, he was certain, was what Makculloch had done; notes on the manuscript clearly showed that Makculloch was neither a continuator nor an interpolator, but a scribe who had tried to appropriate Bower's work.⁹

The majority of the scribes who took an interest in Bower's histories were more concerned with abbreviating the works than with appropriating them. Their attitude was typified by the compiler of the Carthusian manuscript who, struck by the length of Bower's works, set about removing those passages which were more wordy than instructive, to produce a smaller volume for the consolation and education of his brothers, the inhabitants of the Carthusian house at Perth:

"Consideranti mihi illius incliti operis historici libri scoticronicon titulati. in ingenti volumine sedecim librorum diffuse cosmographati. prolixitatem tediosa ...et humane memorie labilitatem ... Visum est utile per ingenioli mei capacitate. ex singulis libris memoratus. sub unus mediocris codicis decreti compendis. cum cunctis capitulorum titulis. aliquem florida magis edificatoria prout superna inspiraverit. ad consolacionem ac edificacionem propriam ceterorumque confratrum meorum Cartusiensium hujus heremi, vallis virtutis incolarum". 10

It appears that he was working sometime before 1451, for he wrote that James, a son of Murdoch, Duke of Albany, had fled to Ireland in 1425, and ad Scotia non est reversus;¹¹ James did not die until 1451, and the scribe "could hardly have used that expression if his death had already taken place."¹² Thus, it is likely that this was one of the earliest abridgements to have been made. Although

he spoke of consulting only one volume, this particular scribe seems to have had both the Scotichronicon and the Book of Cupar before him while he was working, both probably still available at Inchcolm at that time. Otherwise, he must have found still another version of the history in 16 books, combining excerpts from both of those volumes, for the Carthusian manuscript contains material found exclusively in one or the other of Bower's histories, such as the information about Columba's companions found in the Scotichronicon but omitted from the Book of Cupar.¹³ Some of the material found in both histories was presented as it had been in the Book of Cupar rather than the Scotichronicon. Such an abridgement would have been impossible to produce if the scribe had not had access to both of Bower's histories, or to a volume which had already combined them.

This Carthusian manuscript was the original used by another Carthusian scribe, Patrick Russell, who was suggested as the probable author of the manuscript associated with him;¹⁴ like Makculloch, Russell proved to be just the transcriber of his manuscript, an inexact copy of the appropriate books of the Carthusian manuscript, appended to the first five books of Fordun's Chronica.¹⁵ As the Chronica is in a different hand, it seems that Russell added the Carthusian abridgement to an earlier copy of Fordun. These two are the only extant abridgements which have entries from both of Bower's histories.

In 1501, John Gibson, junior, canon of Glasgow and parson of Renfrew, methodically reported the contents of every chapter of the Scotichronicon as he found them in the Black Book of Paisley,¹⁶ effectively intensifying rather than alleviating the tedium of the original which had annoyed the Carthusian monks. He prefaced the

extracts from the Black Book with a verse history of the Scots from their origin to the reign of James II, a variant of the verse from which Bower had taken extracts for the Book of Cupar. Bower had called the verse ancient¹⁷ even though the author of the later portions of Gibson's verse could have been the abbot's contemporary; this leaves the question of the date of the verse open, and it is possible that Gibson's version was a combination of several verses. In Gibson's abridgement, the verse is followed by a genealogy of James IV from Alpin, and, at the end of the volume, Gibson had copied out notes about the 1426 negotiations between Scotland and Norway. Even with these extra documents, Gibson's volume remained primarily, a book report on the Black Book of Paisley.

Two decades later,¹⁸ John Law was writing his history at St. Andrews where he was a canon¹⁹ and would later become incorporated into the University.²⁰ He titled the central portion of his work the Scotichronicon,²¹ and his chronicle was heavily dependent on Bower's original, especially for the brief entries on Scottish history, which he reduced, essentially, to a kinglist, and into which he interpolated lists of popes, emperors, and outstanding individuals. Preceding the chronicle are extracts from Bower's history of the bishops and priors of St. Andrews to which have been added those men who succeeded after Bower's death, and a genealogy of James V which was also from Bower once it reached Alexander III. Accompanying these extracts are a list of bishoprics and abbeys in Scotland, and an extract from the City of God and the "supplement to the chronicles". With all of this, Law's manuscript would resemble a student's notebook rather than an independent work, even when Law continued the "Scotichronicon" beyond the reign of James II. He initially ended his continuation with the year in

which he had copied out most of this manuscript, 1521.²² This was followed by several lists of the kings of Scots, France, England and of emperors. Later, Law must have decided to fill in various empty leaves with short notes on contemporary events drawn, like the rest of his continuation, from Scotland, and particularly the careers of the Douglasses, and abroad, along with a history of Naples, another account of the English kings, and a life of St. Kentigern. His presentation of Scottish history mirrored Bower's throughout. It can be assumed that if Law had indeed been attracted to St. Andrews by the arrival of John Major,²³ he was not yet acquainted with his mentor's new history of Scotland, for Law's work reflected none of Major's new thinking.

Most of the preceding copies and abridgements were based on the Scotichronicon, Bower's first history, but abridgements were also made of the Book of Cupar. According to Skene, the Trinity College, Dublin, manuscript, has the first four books of the Book of Cupar in a sixteenth century hand preceding Fordun's Book V in a different hand, along with a version of the Gesta Annalia which ends in 1363 instead of 1385.²⁴ Skene believed that this copy of Book V "appears to have been compiled as a separate work, before the first four books were put together, and before it was added to them as a fifth book".²⁵ Later, someone who knew that Fordun had left five books, accepted Bower's testimony that the first five books of the Book of Cupar were, except for the noted additions, Fordun's work, and chose to use the Cupar text for Books I to IV to fill in the missing books.

The Catholic Library, Edinburgh, manuscript is a combination of the first five books of Fordun's history and extracts from all the remaining books of the Book of Cupar, finished in 1509.²⁶ At

first glance it would seem that the scribe had only copied certain complete books from his original because he failed to note each time he moved on to a new book; thus, extracts from both Books XV and XVI of the Book of Cupar are found in Book XV of the Catholic Library manuscript. This scribe did not edit the material he found in each chapter, having chosen instead to omit or copy complete chapters, many of the omissions were Bower's sermons or events in other kingdoms, but almost as many concerned Scotland, including the bulk of Baldred Bisset's Processus, and Thomas Barry's verse celebrating Otterburn. The only information from outside Bower's history to be found in this manuscript is the last will of Robert Bruce in both Latin and Scots, written in the margins.²⁷ As it is probable that these snippets of advice were added later, it seems that the original scribe was content with the narrative as found in the Book of Cupar.

Another work based on the Book of Cupar, the Extracta ex Chronicis Scotia²⁸ was written sometime after Flodden, as the author mentioned the battle in his text.²⁹ This author intended to use the Book of Cupar, which he said was commonly called the Scotichronicon, along with other chronicles:

"Incipiunt aliqua de cronicis sociae et . . . libro scotichronicon vulgo nuncupato: Notata et extracta pro quorum faciliiori intellectu aliqua venit terre habitabilis prenotanda divisio."³⁰

So, unlike the previous scribe, he did not restrict himself to copying entire chapters; instead, he selected the information he thought suitable and arranged it to suit himself, generally following Bower's chronology, and added information from other sources, such as the stories about William Wallace's receiving a sword from St. Andrew, and his victorious visit to France, which he said he found "in libro de eius gestis confecto",³¹ probably

Blind Hary's Wallace. He also added some entries about Scone,³² and details about the murder of John Lyon of Glamys by James Lindesay,³³ along with several fairly long passages about the bishops of Dunkeld.³⁴ The impression that the author was associated with Angus and Dunkeld, and probably knew Gaelic, is strengthened by his break with the text of the Book of Cupar at the start of the genealogy of Alexander III recited at his coronation.³⁵ He set the scene of the recitation as Bower had done in the Book of Cupar, omitting Fordun's translation of the Gaelic greeting, but he did not copy any of the names in their Latin form. (See Table 5)

The scribe chose to replace the list found in Cupar with a separate, but related list in a somewhat Anglicized form of Gaelic.³⁶ Other than these entries, there is no evidence of the origin of this manuscript, which, more than most of the abridgements of Bower's histories, concentrated almost exclusively on Scottish history, both in the extracts from the Book of Cupar and in the additional information.

The Book of Pluscarden, named for the house in which the original was supposed to have been composed, has the greatest amount of original material of all the abridgements discussed here, as its author betrayed a distinctive independence from his source. It was also one of the more popular abridgements of the Great Chronicles compiled by "Sir John de Fordoun" and "Lord Walter Bouwar";³⁷ the author's autograph has been lost, but there are six extant copies of it in Latin, the last one copied in 1696.³⁸ According to Father Hay, there was also a French translation of the work; he described one "Bremond Domat who wrote our Scots history in 1519 by the command of John, Duke of Albany...professes to have follow'd this manuscript (Pluscarden) in compealing our history".³⁹ This manuscript

is still extant in Paris.⁴⁰

Important men were too busy to listen to the histories they enjoyed if the volume were as hefty as the Great Chronicles. So the abbot of Dunfermline set this author the task of selecting the passages which would be the most interesting and useful for future readers. At the same time he would try to retain the essence of the long, and sometimes confusing and tedious, passages of the Great Chronicles.

"Cum ad seriem Cronicarum et gestorum laudabilium veritatis enucliacionis licet novitas favorabilis sit, et multorum aures audiencium, principes tamen et praelati et alii viri famosi in multis et arduis mundanae conversacionis negociis, ac eciam in evitabilis vexacionibus plurimum et multiphariis occupati non poterunt sine gravi poena, quae multociens taedium inducit, et de cordibus audiencium appetitum audiendi extinguit, ad tantae prolixitatis volumen, prout in magnis Cronicis ad experienciam videmus, diuturnas aures accomodare. Intencio igitur auctoris est, cum correccione illorum quorum interest vel interesse poterit quomodolibet in futurum, unamquamque materiam utilem et fructuosam in magnis memoratam breviter et compendiose, gracia Spiritus Sancti cooperante, tangere. ...absque longo processu et multiloquio, quae nonnunquam confusionem et taedium detulerunt...enucliare, elicere et explicare; ac inde compendium Chronicarum, ad appetitum, ordinacionem et mandatum venerabilis in Christo patris ac Domini D ... abbatis monasterii de Dunfermlyn nunc regentis". 41

The name of the individual the abbot of Dunfermline set to this task and the title of the work he produced are not supplied by any of the extant manuscripts. The present title, the Book of Pluscarden, was adopted from references to this text by George Buchanan in his own history.⁴² One of the manuscripts has been called the "Dunfermlingensis coenobii codex".⁴³ Others were associated with Bishop Elphinstone⁴⁴ in the search for the history he was thought to have compiled,⁴⁵ but William Skene demonstrated that Elphinstone could not have produced this abridgement.

His suggestion that Maurice Buchanan had compiled the work has never been seriously contested.⁴⁶ This Buchanan made a brief

appearance in the original Scotichronicon as the treasurer to the Princess Margaret⁴⁷ whom the author of Pluscarden claimed to have seen daily.⁴⁸ He was a Master of Arts and probably a cleric, who would have gained his extensive knowledge of the fortunes of the Scots in France, displayed in Pluscarden, while serving there in some capacity under his great-uncle, Sir John Stewart of Dernley.⁴⁹ As a native of the Lennox, Buchanan would also have had a greater interest in Highland affairs than the previous authors, and this, too, was reflected in his history. Thus, following Skene's arguments, it is likely that Maurice Buchanan was the individual who first compiled the Book of Pluscarden for the abbot of Dunfermline in 1461.⁵⁰

. . .

Buchanan intended to add material from outside Scotland, and to continue the chronicle to the time of James II,⁵¹ but he was only partially successful in this. He felt free to rearrange, condense and omit its contents as he pleased. Buchanan gave only the main points of each of Bower's entries and passed over substantial amounts of extraneous material, yet he rarely changed Bower's version of any incident in Scottish history. There are exceptions to this, as, for example, Buchanan's unequivocal statements that David, the Duke of Rothesay, had been murdered by his uncle, the Duke of Albany; according to Bower, Rothesay had died either of dysentery or starvation, and although some blamed the Duke of Albany for the prince's death, others said that David had made his own end.⁵² Pluscarden's first reference to this is in the entry for David's birth:

"Eodem anno (1379) natus est dux Rothsai David, postea fame interemptus per ducem Albaniae Robertum, avunculum ejus". 53

Later Buchanan explained that David's captors dressed him like a valet when they brought him to Falkland so that he would not be recognized; once there, he was shut in a tower vault until he died on 7 April, 1402.⁵⁴ Thus, Buchanan did not skirt the issue of Albany's guilt as the more circumspect Bower had done.

Buchanan also tacked many details on to Bower's narrative, such as the disguise the Duke of Rothesay was made to wear, or that the defeat of the Scottish nobles by Edward I, which Fordun and Bower said had taken place at Dunbar,⁵⁵ had actually occurred at Spott.⁵⁶

Inevitably, the Book of Pluscarden reflected Bower's attitudes and his use of words, since most of the entries were extracted from the Scotichronicon, and many verbatim. Buchanan added so little to the first five books that his editor decided it was not necessary to print them, and a comparison of one of the manuscripts of the Book of Pluscarden with Fordun, Bower, and Skene's notes in his edition of Pluscarden seems to substantiate this.⁵⁷ This correspondence between the early books of the Scotichronicon and those of Pluscarden also resulted in their sharing identical origin myths.

Buchanan's use of words did not always mirror Bower's. For all that the king was still at the centre of much of the narrative, and the welfare of the kingdom is entirely dependent upon him, Buchanan was noticeably concerned with the citizen's duty to care for the well-being of his respublica, his commonwealth. He explained that when Alexander III was a minor, the estates decided that his counsellors had to be removed from office because they had "left the public good" and had been led by self-interest to ignore the duty to the commonwealth⁵⁸ and the king which everyone naturally shares:

"nam omnes sumus ad rem publicam naturaliter obligati,
et specialiter ad regem nostrum". 59

This new duty was one of the reasons John Balliol's homage to Edward I was invalid, for the homage was contrary to the king's oath to protect the rem publicam:

"tamen, viso quod inconsultis tribus regni statibus hoc fecit, nichil valuit iuramentum privatum in officio publico: nam iuramentum solemne in regis coronacione factum, ad rem publicam debite et iuridice, ut decet, regendam, omnia alia iuramenta incaute facta et privata, praefato iuramento repugnancia, extinguit et denichilat." 60

Buchanan also condemned the Comyns' desertion at Falkirk as treason to the commonweal:

"ex invidia illius malignae generacionis quae de Cummynis vocabatur, et aliorum proditorem rei publicae sibi adhaerencium". 61

This seminal notion of loyalty to the commonweal had appeared, fleetingly, in the Chronica when Fordun had described the earls' early opposition to Malcolm IV as their defending the commonweal.⁶² Buchanan expanded on it somewhat, but it remained unquestionably secondary to duty to the king. Buchanan also introduced a new dimension to Bower's ideas on the proper conduct of a king by emphasizing that the king must rule by the law and maintain justice in order to govern the kingdom well; for him, where there was no law, there was no king:

"Rex enim bene regendo dicitur; quia ubi non est lex, ibi non est rex." 63

This explained why Scotland suffered so greatly under her young kings who were neither wise nor prudent enough to recognize the way of equity and justice:

"Sed heu! quod reges nostri juvenes sunt saepius, in quorum temporibus iusticia frequenter claudicat; et causa hujus est eo quod non sunt sapientes nec prudentes ad cognoscendum viam aequitatis et iusticiae." 64

Ignorant princes appointed incompetent officials, something which was not difficult to do in Scotland where the aristocracy refused to be educated.⁶⁵ Thus, periodically, justice was weak in Scotland thanks to

youths and unenthusiastic aristocrats:

"Ideo justicia regno Scociae est debilis et tepida, in defectu regnum juvenum et baronum insipientium, quod dolenter refero". 66

A verse, possibly by Henryson,⁶⁷ or Buchanan himself,⁶⁸ at the end of the narrative reiterated the need for the aristocracy to study the law, but nowhere did Buchanan propose a solution for the difficulties of royal minorities. Furthermore, he never suggested that, if a king did not rule by law, anyone had the right to remove him from office. Perhaps a bad king was preferable to no king at all, considering the chaos which afflicted the kingless state when William was captured by the English. For almost the whole period of his captivity, the natives of the southern and northern parts of his kingdom were at each others throats:

"Et notandum est quo ,(pro) toto tempore quod rex Willelmus captus est, quousque ad libertatem restitueretur, tam in australi quam in boreali plaga regni Scociae, regnicolae ejusdem, caede maligna divisi, se mutuo conflixerunt." 69

Buchanan's history revolved around the king, at least as long as the action took place in Scotland, and whatever its new sense of loyalty to the commonweal and its criticism of unfit rulers, it was still the king upon whom the kingdom depended, whether or not he ruled properly. To turn against him under almost any circumstances was as much treason in the Book of Pluscarden as it had been in the Scotichronicon.

. . .

Buchanan shared his predecessor's concern for asserting the Scots' independence. This led him to study the issues raised by John Balliol's reign and his son's submission to Edward III. He was adamant that the Balliols had never had any right to the throne which John Balliol had occupied with dishonour and lost through his own

demerits:

"(Balliol) qui postea, licet non jure, fuit rex per aliquod tempus, et cum dedecore, suis demeritis exigentibus, degradatus est." 70

Balliol had foolishly done homage to Edward I for the kingdom without having consulted the barons first, along with the prelates and other inhabitants of the kingdom. Homage had never been done in this manner before, and the shame of it would last until the end of the world:

"quod ante hoc nuncquam visum fuit a mundi principio, et usque ad finem mundi opprobrium ejus non delebitur." 71

The homage was not legally binding on the kingdom which could not be held responsible for the shortcomings of one person; the king made his private oaths as a private person, so Balliol's homage had been no more detrimental to his kingdom than a cleric's oath was to the privileges of the church. Homage had been extorted from the Scot by force, was contrary to his coronation oath, and was a violation of the imperishable bond between Scotland and France which had first been established in the time of the kings Achay and Charlemagne.⁷² Later, John Balliol's surrender to the English king was also invalid.⁷³

After the expulsion of Balliol,⁷⁴ Scotland was left to fend for itself until the true heir assumed the throne. After Bruce's death, Edward Balliol returned. His resignation of his right to the throne to Edward III would have jeopardized the independence of the kingdom unless it could be proved that neither Balliol's claim to the throne nor his resignation were valid, as Buchanan was determined to do with a hotchpotch of arguments. He first stated that Edward Balliol had never had any right to the throne; somewhat contradictorily, he then said that whatever right Balliol may have had once he had already resigned. What is more, if Balliol were a king, he could not have

surrendered the kingdom to anyone without the agreement of the three estates and the consent of a superior, neither of which Balliol had had, and he would only have been allowed to resign to someone who had the power to install another king, which Edward III could not have done. As if he were not quite sure he had vindicated Scottish independence, Buchanan concluded that several English kings had resigned their pretended rights to Scotland into the hands of Scots.⁷⁵ Having fended off this threat to Scotland to his own satisfaction, Buchanan did not specifically take up Scotland's case again, except in the entries taken from Bower's text, reflecting that author's point of view.

A corollary to devotion to Scotland seems to have been hatred of the greatest external threat to that kingdom, the English, and Buchanan was moved to contribute to the already numerous anti-English comments in the Scotichronicon, his abhorrence of the English perhaps reinforced by his warm feelings for the French. He was particularly wary of the faithlessness of the English, a trait which would be singled out again by Blind Hary. For instance, the Anglo-French wars were always the fault of the English:

"Sequiter exinde initium doloris, infinita guerra Franciae et Angliae, in cuius culpa semper Angli sunt, ut per praesentes Cronicas inspicere volentibus manifeste et evidenter apparere poterit". 76

Buchanan's distrust of the English even led to his interrupting himself; much as he would have like to continue, he could not pass over their infidelity, arrogance and inborn treason:

"Item notandum quod, licet breviter et compendiose procedere in praesentibus proposui, tamen infidelitatem, invidiam et arroganciam Anglorum et prodicionis innatam perfidiam recitare omittere non potui". 77

He was not merely giving vent to his anger. Buchanan wished to warn modern princes with examples of the treason and malice behind pious

English countenances. That nation was like the most evil scorpion which kills those in its vicinity with its poison:

"Caveant ergo, ad exemplar illorum, Scotorum principes et proceres moderni, eorum fraudis antiquae et prodicionis dissimilatae maliciae experti, ne temere et innocenter, sub pietatis specie, sicut alii seducti, decipiantur. ... nam et ipsi scorpionis naturae nequissimi in condicionibus eorum comparari potuerunt, qui maxime cum eis vicinitatem habentes, et eos in lecto hospitantes, venenato stumulo pungentes, occidunt." 78

History should warn modern Scottish leaders of the rotten root of the English which infected everything it touched.⁷⁹ It is easy to suspect that the vengeful St Fiacre was one of Buchanan's favourite saints for he told the story of Henry V's death from St Fiacre's disease twice.⁸⁰

But past crimes and the general unworthiness of the English had not convinced all Scots to shun them. Some were still so misguided as to prefer peace with their southern neighbours who never kept a promise and whose hatred of the Scots would never die, to the long-standing alliance with the French:

"Sed finaliter compertum est, Inveterata malicia Anglorum non meretur perire Scociam, et quod haec oblatio confoederationis non erat nisi modum reperire ad seminandum scisma et divisionem in regno et inter nos et amicos et confoederatos nostros de Francia, et ad suscitandum discordiam ubi firma fides, verus amor et concordia fraternalis inviolabiliter radicata est; et quod ipsi Anglici, multa promittentes, nichil de facto propter hoc perimplere volebant. Nam semper dum velint occasiones ab amicis recedere invenire sciunt, ut ex eorum actibus antiquis evidencia perpetrati sceleris et experientia, quae est rerum magistra, demonstrant." 81

This last passage is as much evidence of Buchanan's good will towards the French as it was of his hatred of their common enemy, the English. His sojourns in France had left Buchanan with a respect for some of their institutions and an abiding interest in their affairs. One of his objectives had been to collect information on the recent past, not useless vanities but miraculous deeds which he

had seen beyond the limits of Scotland, culminating in the story of the wonderful girl who had recovered the realm of France and whom he had known to the end of her life:

"Ultimate vero et in fine, acta in tempore nostro accidentia, meliori modo quo potero, exclusis inutilibus nugacionibus ac eciam frustratoriis vanitatibus ad rem non pertinentibus, inquirere, colligere et memorare et inferre, cum quibusdam aliis actibus mirificis quae ego qui scribo extra limites hujus regni sciivi, vidi, et audivi. Item postremo de quadam puella mirabili quae causa fuit recuperacionis quam vidi, novi et cum ea fui in quaestis suis dictae recuperacionis; usque ad finem vitae suae praesens interfui". 82

The overwhelming majority of the entries from outside Scotland, both extracted from the Scotichronicon and original to the Book of Pluscarden, touched on events in France, from Buchanan's candidate for the first French king,⁸³ to the death of the Princess Margaret, the beloved Dauphiness,⁸⁴ and including their successes in the Crusades and their wars with the despicable English. Some of Buchanan's asides betrayed his particular interest in France, such as his statement that his contemporary, Henry VI, was the grandson of Charles VII who had won his realm back from the English,⁸⁵ and that although it may have been the custom in the past for the king to wear his crown on certain days, as reported in the Scotichronicon, this was no longer the case, especially in France.⁸⁶ He turned to France to illustrate his arguments about good government and the duties of the king, and he introduced the French parliaments into his discussion of the sovereign's need for wise counsellors. These senators were so wise that it was said they could not err and that nothing could pervert them from the law; their reputation for honesty was such that according to French stories, the Saracens once abandoned their own courts in order to travel to Paris where they were satisfied with the parliament's judgement.⁸⁷

Reports of the Anglo-French wars in the Book of Pluscarden favoured the French even when they were not the innocent victims of

English aggression. They were not above reproach, however, as became more apparent after the arrival of Scottish help for their often defeated allies. The Scots' worthiness was not immediately recognized; many of the French jeered that they were only good for eating mutton and drinking wine. The king and the French leaders knew better, and the Scots repaid their faith by trouncing the English at Bauge. When the Scottish leaders arrived at the royal court with their English captives, the king publicly turned the taunts against those who had mocked the Scots:

"O vos, qui dicere solebatis quod Scoti mei inutiles erant michi et regno, et nichil valuerunt nisi quod mutonem commestores et vini haustores erant, videte ergo nunc quis honorem, victoriam et belli gloriam meruit habere." 88

Trusting in Scottish good luck, the Dauphin sent the earl of Buchan to Scotland for reinforcements,⁸⁹ a wise decision since Buchanan's account makes it clear that it was the Scots who were willing to take the offensive, as in the "battle of the herrings". There, the Scots failed in their attempt to capture an English supply train because the French forces who would have preferred to besiege the train, refused to help when the Scots attacked.⁹⁰

The detailed discussion of the Scots' campaigns in France in the Book of Pluscarden convinced Skene that the author must have served in them. Much of Books IX and X were given over to these wars. Skene selected the anecdote about the death of the Duke of Clarence at Bauge as evidence that the author was a Buchanan.⁹¹ In the confusion of the battle, it was impossible to be sure about who killed whom, but the common report was that a Highlander, Alexander Makcaustelayn, a Buchanan from the Lennox, had killed the duke because Alexander had the coronet from the duke's helmet which he sold to Lord Darnley:

"Nec, quis in tali generali conflictu publico interfecit quem, certam relacionem non invenio; sed tamen publica vox fuit

quod quidam Scotus montanus, Alexander Makcaustelayn nominatus, de Levenax oriundus, de familia domini de Buchania, dictum ducem de Clarencia occidit; quia, ad hoc signum, coronellam auream, quae in galia sua de auro purissimo, gemmis preciosis ornatum, super caput ejus in campo inventa fuit, praedictus Makcastelan secum in campo portavit, et pro mille nobilibus domino de Dernley vendidit".⁹²

Buchanan supplied a wealth of information on these French campaigns, but he did not fulfill his promise to survey the career of Joan of Arc. She entered the narrative when God mercifully sent her to the long-suffering, devout Dauphin; inspired by the Holy Spirit, she defeated and captured the prince's enemies. Buchanan broke off just after he had begun to back track to describe her childhood.⁹³ This ended the book, and in the next book, there were fewer references to France until the entry for the Princess Margaret's marriage to the Dauphin, followed quickly by her eulogy.

Despite having been confronted by the French antagonism toward the Scots, Buchanan remained a Francophile and an ardent supporter of the Franco-Scottish alliance, and this, in turn, led him to fill in some of the gaps left by Bower's account of the Scots' fortunes abroad as much as his personal experience allowed. As a result, in the later part of the history, there is more information available on the Scots in France than on those in the Highlands. Buchanan's own Highland background did not prevent his copying Fordun and Bower's pejorative passages about the Highlanders into his own second book.⁹⁴ The anti-Highlander sentiments inherited from the Chronica and the Scotichronicon were only slightly diluted by the extra notices of occurrences involving the Highlanders which Buchanan added to his text; the more detailed description of the contest in the king's presence at Perth between the rival clans did little to make the affair any less grizzly.⁹⁵ He chronicled several of the Highlanders' bloodier escapades, and stated that the Lord of the Isles, whom

James I had welcomed into the royal court, had deserted because he could not bear the derision of some of the courtiers, hardly a sympathetic comment since damaged pride is no excuse for treason.⁹⁶

Almost the only time Buchanan betrayed any kind feeling for the Highlanders was in the entry for the coronation of Alexander III when he, like Bower, recapitulated the origin myth, or at least the Greeks' part in it. Buchanan went further than Bower in his praise of the Gaels' eponymous ancestors who had discovered science, nurtured morals and virtues, and were the flowers of chivalry:

"cujus gens ingeniosissima, in arte bellandi strenuissima, donis sapientiae praedita, sermone doctissima ac eloquentissima, in legibus praeclara et eisdem subdita, circa extraneos misericors et pia, circa incolas pacifica, circa domesticos quieta, vicinis benignis graciososa, contra hostium insidias bellicosissima". 97

Even this could have been purely admiration for the Greeks. Buchanan's Highland origins left him with a possible understanding of Gaelic⁹⁸ and a greater knowledge of events in that region, but no marked fondness for his fellow-Highlanders.

The extra entries on the Highlands and his confessed preoccupation with events outside the kingdom shifted the focus of the Book of Pluscarden away from the southeast of Scotland where it had been in the Scotichronicon, and removed the Douglasses from the pre-eminent position they had enjoyed. This does not mean that Buchanan ignored either the Lowlands or Scotland's powerful nobles. Having omitted much of what Bower had said about the Douglasses, Buchanan inserted an anecdote from 1398 when Robert III created his brother and son dukes, and wanted to honour Archibald, the earl of Douglas, in the same manner. His offer was refused, so when the king paid no attention to the refusal and had the herald call out, "Schir Duk, Schir Duk", the earl replied, "Schir Drak, Schir Drak".⁹⁹

As most of the entries in the Book of Pluscarden had been extracted from the Scotichronicon, it necessarily reflected many of Bower's biases. It remained a history of the Lowlands and was also a pro-Stewart history. Bower's criticism of David II had rested more on that king's misadventures with women than on his policies, and Buchanan built on this. He saw David's adultery as the cause of all his failures. His sin had displeased God, so he never knew peace or happiness, prosperity or grace, and was never able to have children; fertility and abundance were unknown in his time:

"Per hoc poterit apparere quanta mala in illo peccato adulterii perveniunt, dicente Domino per prophetam ... Videte inquantum adulterium ergo displicet Divinae majestati; quod rex David, qui fornicator publicus erat, nuncquam in vita sua pacem vel felicitatem, prosperitatem aut gratiam, vel regnum successione liniali sui corporis potuit praemunire, sive fertilitatem aut habundanciam in tempore suo." 100

Of course, there is no corresponding entry for Robert II; Buchanan may have bemoaned the presence of so many Stewart bastards, but he did not blame their crimes on their father.

Buchanan stressed how inept David had been as a ruler, while at the same time, he was "obviously bent upon sheltering the Stewart."¹⁰¹ The headstrong David's weaknesses had been apparent immediately upon his return from France. The wise men of the realm had feared for their kingdom, for David rarely acted on mature advice and preferred his own fickle opinions to those of his counsellors. Thus, these anonymous wise men blamed the king for the murder of Alexander Ramsay by William Douglas, for the king had first appointed Douglas sheriff, then forfeited him for no apparent reason and replaced him with Ramsay. Ramsay's murder resulted in feuds and murders throughout the kingdom:

"Verumptamen in hoc inconstanciam et levitatem regis multum vituperaverunt sapientes, et cum hoc suam inadvertenciam et

negligenciam ... per quod multum dubitaverunt sapientes et prudentes viri de infelici consequencia, et ad talia promissa insignia, dicto regno ventura; quia ipse pauca matura deliberacione cum consilio sapientum peregit, sed capitoise et sua propria opinione inconsulte saepe processit, ut postea apparuit. Nam, per mortem ipsius Alexandri, mortalis guerra et interminabilis lis et discordia inter procures regni exorta est: ita quod, a majore usque ad minorem, mutua caede cotidiana totum regnum turbatum est, sic quod utriusque partis amici, tanquam inimici se invicem vicissim trucidantes, crudeli morte in gladio ceciderunt." 102

According to Buchanan, everybody agreed that David's capture while trespassing on St Cuthbert's lands was his own fault.¹⁰³ There was, therefore, no reason to blame Robert Stewart and the earl of March who had seen that there was no hope of a remedy at Neville's Cross and had returned to Scotland unharmed:

"Comes vero Marchiarum, et senescallus Scociae, regis nepos, visis accidentibus, et remedium nullum expectando sperantibus, incolumnes cum multis ad propria redierunt." 104

Age did nothing to improve David's ability to rule. To his credit, David's seeming support of the scheme to have one of Edward's sons succeed him was only a pretence,¹⁰⁵ but his feckless government upset the kingdom until the magnates agreed they must either correct the king or send him into exile. David angrily refused to allow such a precedent to be set, and intended to banish or execute them all; instead, to avoid the destruction which inevitably resulted from civil wars, he forgave them and allowed them to renew their homage. Like Fordun and Bower, Buchanan dealt with the rebellion circumspectly and never named any of the rebels.¹⁰⁶ David was praised for his mercy, but soon afterward, his marriage and subsequent divorce would have brought the whole kingdom under interdict if Margaret Logie had lived to press her case at Avignon and had married the English king;¹⁰⁷ David's sin and fickleness had once again endangered his kingdom. It would seem that his reign was close to disaster, and after all this

criticism, the eulogy for David in the Book of Pluscarden had a hollow ring when it concluded that David had ruled well in the short period after the divorce and had wanted to go to the Holy Land:

"Post hoc autem rex David regnum suum optime rexit, leges renovavit et rebelles castigavit, et in tranquillitate et pace vixit". 108

In marked contrast to his treatment of David II, Buchanan spoke generously of Robert Stewart both as guardian and as king. Unlike his uncle, Stewart knew how to govern and had done so since his youth when he had succeeded Andrew Moray as guardian; although a young man, Stewart was already a veteran opponent of the English and he ruled powerfully and nobly until David's return from France.¹⁰⁹ Later, at his coronation, he was noble and handsome, beloved by all. During his reign there was a great abundance of goods, peace, and prosperity; goodwill united the magnates. The new king had many children, and enjoyed hunting and fowling; unfortunately, since he had had many of these children outside wedlock, they turned out to be of poor character, as was usual with illegitimate children:

"Qui valde nobilis, pulcher et elegantis naturae, ab omnibus amabilis et dilectus erat; ac in tempore suo fertilitas magna et bonorum habundancia, pax, prosperitas, et amabilis magnatum regni unitas. Multos enim filios et filias genuit; et in venecionibus et aucupacionibus multum delectabatur. Sed, quia multas proles extra sacramentum matrimonii genuit, ideo eorum exitus in finem minus prospere se habuit, prout in posterioribus patebit." 110

The presence of all these royal bastards did not move Buchanan to lecture on the evils of adultery. Like Bower, Buchanan bemoaned the evil nature of bastards in general, then turned to other aspects of the reign, again sheltering Robert II, who, when he died at Dundonald, left his kingdom in tranquility, liberty, fertility and peace.¹¹¹

Buchanan left out many of the Scotichronicon's passages about religion in general, and the church's affairs in particular; by condensing or passing over many of Bower's lengthy explanations of questions of theology, he allowed the presence of God and His saints in mundane affairs to become dominant. This theme of dependence upon God was introduced by Buchanan in his preface where he stated that without God's help, no man was capable of understanding that truth necessary for all good works:

"Quia ubi ipsa veritas non est fundamentum, nullius boni operis super aedificari poterit aedificium. Ad cuius veritatis noticiam dilucide adipiscendam, sine gracia divina supernaturaliter infusa, non poterit pertingere lumine naturali intellectus humanus.

Quaeramus igitur illam a patre luminum, a quo omne datum optimum et donum perfectum desursum est descendens quoniam ipse solus dat sapientium et ex ore ejus sciencia et prudencia est ... Ad quam gratiam impetrandam nos perducere dignetur qui sine fine vivit et regnat." 112

Thereafter, scattered amongst the notices of events within the church, are examples of divine intervention in ecclesiastical and secular affairs; these become more numerous once the narrative reached the time of the Wars of Independence. God and St. Matthew, the patron of the local church, had brought the victory at Roslin,¹¹³ and God had protected Robert Bruce. Later, He frustrated the Prince of Wales' plans to conquer the whole of France¹¹⁴ and had mercy on the devout Dauphin who had come to the point of despair.¹¹⁵ And divine inspiration moved James II to abolish the custom of appropriation of a bishop's goods upon his death.¹¹⁶

Buchanan restricted himself to producing a history of the Scots, both within and out-with Scotland, and so his work is more closely akin to Fordun's in spirit than to the Scotichronicon which he abridged. Like Fordun and Bower, Buchanan envisaged a history of the Scots as an account of their kings, despite his references to the respublica. In his preface, Buchanan had no doubt about who

the focal point of his narrative should be when he called upon his readers to thank God for having sent them the invincible Scottish kings who had held the throne through disasters, assaults and infamous acts of deceit from 330 BC up to the present day without the introduction of a new nation, or subjection of the royal majesty:

"Insuper ut demus gloriam Deo in excelsis, laudem post mortem victoriosissimus et invincibilibus Scotorum gentibus defunctus, magnificenciam et honorem venerabilis vivis digne et laudabiliter possedentibus et diffidentibus et occupantibus nobile regnum Scociae ...tantis cladibus, praeliis, et actibus bellicis, tantis itaque tyrannorum inaestimabilibus insultibus, tantis proditorum deceptionibus et prodicionibus nequissimis; quibus omnibus non obstantibus domus regia Scociae a trecentis annis et amplius ante incarnationem Christi usque in hodiernum diem sine nationis mutacione vel regiae majestatis subjeccione honorifice et libere occupavit." 117

Buchanan could not imagine how he could find enough words to praise these kings, but he would never cease from thanking God for having given them to the Scots.¹¹⁸ Thus, his narrative, like those of his predecessors, revolved around the Scottish kings.

In this, as in much else Buchanan followed the pattern set by Fordun and Bower. From Bower's death until the early sixteenth century, most historians who wrote in Latin were like Buchanan content to copy or abridge one or the other of the abbot's works. Fordun's origin myth and account of the Scots' early history, repeated by Bower, was more or less unquestioned until John Major turned to the study of Scottish history. When that scholar questioned the traditional accounts, his work was hostilely received. By that time, the Scots had become accustomed to thinking of themselves as members of a nation with a heroic past and a remarkably ancient royal dynasty.

"Myne entent zhit, and my wil,
Gif God wil grant his grace thartil,
(Is) casuel thyngis that has beyn,

. . .

As I decerne ~~can~~ worthe memore,

. . .

...in this las part to wryte".

- Wyntoun

Andrew of Wyntoun's "Treatise"

Most modern critics of Andrew of Wyntoun's chronicle have found the style of his verse so offensive that they have dismissed his work as "neither good history or good poetry",¹ but an earlier Scottish audience disagreed. Judging from the nine extant manuscripts of Wyntoun's verse, "his work was more popular than anything other than the Latin Scotichronicon of Bower".² Furthermore, the popularity of Wyntoun's chronicle is proof that Fordun's account of the Scots' early history as repeated in Bower, had not been adopted by the Scots to the exclusion of all others.

Wyntoun has left more information about himself than most of the authors in this study; he did so not out of pride, he said, but to ensure that no one else would be blamed for the inadequacies of his work:

"And, for I will nane beire the blame
Off my defalt, this is my name
Be bapteme, Andro of Wyntoune,
Off Sanct Androis a channoune
Regular, bot nocht forthy
Off thame all the leste worthy;
Bot of thare grace and thar fawour
I wes but merit maid priour
Off the Inche within Lochleuin,
Berand tharof my titill evin,
Of Sanct Androis diocy,
Betuix the Lummondis and Wynarty."³

His date of birth is not known, but most estimates settle around 1350. His birthplace is also a mystery; the notices in the verse about the Wyntouns of East Lothian are not substantial enough to suggest a connection,⁴ and the narrative does not betray a special favour for any particular part of the Lowlands. Like Bower, Wyntoun had been asked by a local landowner, in this case Sir John Wemyss to compose a history of the Scots:

"Sen that I set my besynes
Till all youre plesance generaly,
Suppose this tretise simpilly
I maid at the instance of a larde
That has my seruice in his warde,
Schir Johne of Wemys be rycht name,

. . .

Syne through his bidding and counsaill
Off det I spendit my travale;

. . .

Thus set I in like assay
Wilfully my det to pay:
Symple of sufficient quhether it be
To bowsumnes ay zeild I me." 5

Unfortunately, this connection "extremely interesting as it is for its bearing on the literary impulses of the Chronicle, adds little to the biographical data."⁶

Wyntoun was elected prior of Loch Leven sometime around 1393 when Bower's teacher, James Biset, was promoted from there to St. Andrews.⁷ At this time, Loch Leven played a modest part in the religious life of its part of Scotland,⁸ as a dependent upon the priory of St. Andrews.⁹ It had reached its zenith around 1130,¹⁰ and had been declining gradually ever since. Yet despite the loss of status, Wyntoun's legal battles¹¹ and his protection of the priory's charters¹² showed that he would not allow a corresponding loss of property without a fight. He remained in office until 1422; on 12 December 1421, the Pope granted the petition of John Cameron to be appointed prior of Loch Leven since Wyntoun wished to resign, and Wyntoun's resignation had come into effect by the next year.¹³ It may be assumed that he died sometime soon after his resignation in 1422 and before 1424, since near the end of his chronicle, Wyntoun spoke of James I as a captive in England.

Wyntoun originally planned to end his work with a recitation of the descendants of Malcolm III through to Robert II.¹⁴ This would have been a logical stopping point had Wemyss asked him to begin his composition before Robert III's death in 1406.¹⁵ Sometime later, Wyntoun revised his work at least twice, as Amours has shown in his discussion of the extant manuscripts.¹⁶ In the revisions,

Wyntoun insisted that although illness and age made his work difficult, he was determined to finish:

"For, as I stabil myne intent,
Offt I fynde impedymment
Withe suddande and fers maladeis
That me cumbrisse on mony wise;
And eylde, my mastres, withe hir brewis
Ilk day me saris and grewis.
Scho has me made monycione
To se for a cunclusione,
The qwhilk behuffis to be off det."¹⁷

Assuming that Wyntoun had first written before 1406, he waited a long time before making his revisions sometime after the death of the Duke of Albany in 1420. In the course of these revisions, he eulogized the duke, and expanded the chronicle, bringing it down to the earl of Mar's return to Scotland after his much acclaimed visit to the Continent in 1408, thereby ending the verse on a triumphant note.

Wyntoun's editors have chosen the title Original Chronicle for his work, but Wyntoun preferred to call it a treatise:

"The titill of this tretise haill
I will be callit Originall,
For that begynnyng sall mak cleire
Be plane procese oure matere." ¹⁸

He modestly claimed, like most writers of his time, that he was incapable of fulfilling his debt to his patron properly, and apologized for his treatise's short-comings. While doing so he explained that he had decided to translate passages of Latin chronicles into "Inglis", and anticipated the criticism of those more learned than himself:

"Herefor I haue set myn entent,
My wit, my will and myn assent,
Fra that I sene had storyis seire
In cornyklis, as thai writtin were,
Thare mater in to forme to draw
Out of Latyne in Inglis saw.
For storyis to heire ar dilectable,
Suppose that sum be nocht bot fable;

And set to this I gif my will,
 My wit I ken sa skant thartill
 That I drede saire thame till offend
 That can me and my work amend,
 Gif I writ outhir mair or lese,
 Bot as the story beris witnes;
 For, as I said, rude is my wit
 And febill to put all my writ,
 Gif clerkis bring thaim to knawlage
 Off the Latyne in oure langage,
 Till ilk manis vnderstanding
 For diuersnes of thare changeing;
 Sa that throch folly or nysetee
 I dout confoundit for to be." 19

Worried as he was about his faults as a writer, Wyntoun had already learned one lesson which his successor, Bower, never mastered; the prior understood that brevity was essential if he were to avoid boring his audience:

"In that than thocht I to declare
 Al the fors of my mater,
 And pesse be pesse ay for to wryte,
 Sa that the fors al of my dyt
 In til a lumpe to be our tane
 And to be defamyt as a rayne;
 Sen schort thyng is mare pleyassande,
 And to be herde is mare likande."20

His brevity has led some critics to condemn his work as shallow, as he had feared they might, but Wyntoun wished to instruct as well as entertain his audience:

"Na her my wil is noucht to wryte
 Bot pleyssand generale and delyte,
 And to ger al conserwit be
 That langis til honoure or honeste."21

For this reason, he was careful in his selection of material. There were some things which he felt should not be included by any historian worthy of the name:

"Bot yhit forthirmair I wyll procede
 In to this matere yhit in dede,
 Set I wyll noucht wryt wp all
 That I hawe sene in my tyme fall,
 Part, that is noucht worth to wryte,
 Part, that can mak na delyte,
 Part, that can na proffyt bryng,
 Part, bot falshed or hethyng.
 Qwhat is he, of ony wyte,
 That wald drawe sic in this wryte?"22

Perhaps attempting to woo his audience, Wyntoun repeatedly told them that he had selected his material for their pleasure, and let the instructive side of his work remain in the background. For instance, he called upon those who enjoyed remembering the deeds of the past to listen, since Book IV had been compiled for their benefit; the fact that they might learn something was overlooked:

"Draw thai delyte to here or rede
 Fayr famows workis don in deide;
 Swa, til excite zour delyte,
 I haf set me now to wryte
 And to tret in this wolum
 Qwhen biggit was be Romule Rome,
 . . .
 Withe othir storeis incedens
 Pleyssande lik to zoure reuerens,
 That ar thir treteis til here or rede."²³

Wyntoun always kept his audience, Sir John of Wemyss and his household, in mind while writing. There were no addresses to Scottish kings in his verse, and he did not digress on the proper government of the kingdom in lectures more or less subtly aimed at the monarch. Instead, Wyntoun addressed himself to the knights and ladies of the house, discussed the best ways for commanders to control their troops, and selected the stories which he thought would be most interesting to them. Sometimes these anecdotes were not immediately relevant to his topic, as he admitted in his report about a joust at Calais; still, he thought it was worth including because men of arms would enjoy it:

"Ane auenture were gud to tell,
 Baith for the gretnes of the thing,
 And for the hie vndirtaking.
 Set at it lang nocht this mater,
 Zit men will haif pleasance till heire
 It, that in armes has delite,
 Forthy in cornykillis I it write".²⁴

He was also concerned about the ladies, who he was certain would

be indignant if he were to tell too much about the Amazons. Besides these warriors were savage examples to set before the women:

"I dar noucht til zow mak racorde,
For dout that women wil me blame
Gif that I twechit thar defame,
And cal it myne auctorite,
Set it attentik story be;
And als the sampil is richt fel
The propyrte thar of to tel."²⁵

Thus, Wyntoun never expected his work to reach the royal court as Fordun and Barbour had done, and as Bower hoped his later work would do. Wyntoun wrote to suit the tastes of one of the landowners of Fife and of others of his class in their native language, and did not seem to have cherished any grandiose plans for his treatise.

. . .

Like Fordun, Wyntoun found his progress hampered by the paucity of sources at his disposal,²⁶ but unlike his predecessor, he made do with what was readily available. He had chosen to record, as much as possible, passages which his readers could not find elsewhere; therefore, he frequently referred to other histories which he thought could be found easily. He also named some of his sources;²⁷ two of the histories in Scots he cited, Barbour's Brut²⁸ and Huchown of the Aule Reale's Gest Historialle, and the Latin Great Register of the Priory of St. Andrews are now lost, as are, perhaps, many of the songs and stories he incorporated into the chronicle. Considering that these are only the Scottish works he found occasion to mention, it may be assumed that there were a number of others, and that Fordun was not working in a vacuum as it sometimes seems. Amours was convinced that Wyntoun used Fordun's Chronica fairly often without ever naming it as an authority; it is difficult to believe that all the similarities were merely coincidence or resulted from using the same sources.²⁹

Wyntoun claims to have had another source whom he did not name, but to whom he did give full credit for his portion of the verse. It seems that when Wyntoun found the work was too much for him, and was considering bringing it to a premature close, an anonymous friend sent him a manuscript covering the period from the birth of David II to the death of Robert II before Wyntoun set to work again himself:

"This part last tretyt beforne,
 Fra Davy the Brws oure kyng wes borne,
 Qwhill his syster sowne Robert
 The Secownd, our kyng, than cald Stewert,
 That neste hym regnyd successyve,
 His dayis had endyt off his lyve,
 Wyt yhe welle, wes noucht my dyte;
 Tharoff I dare me welle acqwytte.
 Qwha that it dytyd, nevyrtheles,
 He schawyd hym off mare cunnandnes
 Than me, commendis this tretis,
 But fawoure, qwha will it clerly prys.
 This part wes wryttyn to me send;
 And I, that thought for to mak end
 Off that purpose I tuk on hand,
 Saw it wes selle accordand
 To my matere, I was rycht glade;
 For I wes in my trawale sade,
 I ekyd it here to this dyte,
 For to mak me sum respyte."³⁰

However, it is peculiar that Wyntoun never named the author of this piece, probably the most controversial portion of the chronicle to Wyntoun's contemporaries since it portrayed David II as a just and powerful king. Most historians of the period were too wary of displeasing the Stewarts to speak of David II in such a positive manner.³¹

According to the verse, David Bruce was well loved in his kingdom on his return from France³² and raided England profitably a number of times before he and his companions ignored William Douglas' expert advice and were defeated at Durham. Wyntoun's friend even found something to praise his king for in this episode,

as David put up a great fight before John Coupland managed to capture him.³³ Once he had been freed, David ruled Scotland forcefully, prosecuting "misdoaris"³⁴ and enforcing the truce with England; thanks to his "radure" or severity, no one dared to stand against him:

"A welle gret qwhille this kyng Dawy
 Governyd his kynrik rycht stowtly.
 Agayne the stowt rycht stowt wes he;
 Till sympill he schawyd debonarte.
 He gave till gud men largely,
 And wald mak so prewely
 Hys gyfft, that he wald lat nane wyte
 Be hym, quham till he wald gyve it:
 And wnaskyd he gave offt-syis
 Hys gyfft wes fere the mare to prys.
 Throw gyuyn and debonarte
 His mennys hartis till hym wan he."³⁵

David II was said to have been angry when parliament refused to allow an English prince to succeed him, but this was not held against him in the verse and his eulogy lauded his reign:

"Fra than his land in realte
 He led, and rewlyt in equite.
 Scherreff courtis throch al his lend
 He gart be cours hald, and folowand
 Ilka yere a justry
 He gert hald (rycht) fellonely:
 And syne his Parliament at Scone,
 Quhare al wald be delyverit sone.
 He wes manly, wer, and wys.
 Thus in al forme of justris
 He left his land at his ending,
 And yald his sawl til Hewynnys king.
 He wes tane al to hastely:"³⁶

Wyntoun's friend also praised Robert Stewart, at least indirectly, for his early guardianship of the prosperous kingdom:

"The Wardane syne till his cuntre
 Fure, and a qwhille restyd he,
 And sum qwhill passyd throwch the land;
 For than the kynryk wes growand
 In ryches, and in honeste,³⁷
 And off Wytale gret plente."

Stewart did not take part in the verse again until he was crowned Robert II; his part in the battle at Durham and his rebellion were

ignored, as was his second period of guardianship. He was not portrayed as an active king even in the years before the appointment of his second son as warden; not even his eulogy complimented his reign:

"The secownd Robert off Scotland kyng,
As God purwaid, made endyng
At Downdownald in his cuntre

· · ·
Fra thine to Scwne his men hym bare
He rychly was enteryd thare.
Off all the kynryk the prelatis,
And mony lordis off hey statis,
Thare at his enterment war." 38

Wyntoun may have been telling the truth when he claimed that this portion of his verse had been sent to him by a friend whom he was protecting with anonymity. Still, it certainly was convenient for Wyntoun to be able to say that these politically sensitive chapters were not his own. The possibility remains that he might simply have been sparing himself the criticism they may have aroused. Whether or not Wyntoun was indeed the author and the "friend" just an invention, this part of the verse will be treated as part of Wyntoun's own work, for the prior must have agreed with its sentiments if he chose to insert it in his verse, and he probably modified it to some extent in the two revisions he made of the entire work.

The scarcity of sources notwithstanding, Wyntoun was sometimes confronted by contradictory material, puzzles which at least once led him to admit that he could not vouch for what he had written.³⁹ His judgement was not faultless, and an error he had made when writing about Glasgow raised such an outcry that he later omitted the passage but published an apology in his revisions. In it, he explained that he had thought his authority was authentic and, therefore, asked to be excused since he had not lied but had been led astray. As always, his purpose in writing had not been to dishonour anyone; he wished

to please and to preserve everything which showed honour and honesty:

"That I befor wrat of Glasgu,

It did (I) on gud consciens,
 Baythe for honoure and reuerens
 Off that famows solempne plasse,
 Towrit as wryttyn befor me was
 In til bukys, that was lyk
 For til haf beyn attentik.
 Qwhat that is mysdon be me
 I ask excusyt for to be;
 For this I wrat noucht in erroure,
 In falsheide, na in til dishonoure;
 Na her my wil is noucht to wryte
 Bot pleyssande generale and delyte,
 And to ger al conserwit be
 That lengis til honoure or honeste." 40

In a number of ways, Wyntoun's chronicle represented traditions which existed alongside those preserved in Latin first in Fordun's Chronica and later in the works of Bower and his disciples. An example of their differences of opinion was Wyntoun's attitude towards his king and kingdom. The conservative Fordun had turned away from the judgement of the Declaration of Arbroath which had separated the person of the king from his crown and envisaged the possible removal of a king from his office. While Wyntoun never advocated regicide any more than the authors of the Declaration had, he was not as conservative as his predecessor. In his verse, there are indications that he agreed with the Declaration that no king was indispensable. Furthermore, his identification of the people with the land, with a corresponding loyalty to the kingdom, appeared in Wyntoun's verse as a complement to devotion to the king.

Like the Latin histories, Wyntoun's narrative revolved around the king; most of the early books chronicled the activities of the kings, consuls or emperors of various nations, and the early histories of the Scots and Picts were little more than kinglists. The whole kingdom

belonged to the king and everyone in it was his subject.⁴¹ Even so, it seems that the king's powers were qualified by the law and the rights of his subjects; one of the English barons' charges against John was that he had acted illegally:

"thame supprysyd in till gret thyng,
And wrangyd thame (in) mony wys
Agayne thare lawys and thare franchys". 42

The estates of several kingdoms and "off Scotland ... Burges, baronys, and prelatys",⁴³ played a greater part in his verse than they had in the Chronica. They were the king's counsellors, as long as there was a king present. When the throne was empty, they could take over the government temporarily, usually just long enough to choose a guardian or debate the succession, and except when the Franks asked the pope for permission to replace Childeric with Pipin, there was no hint that their powers could be increased. In England and Scotland an attack upon the person of the king or a rebellion against him by the estates or anyone else was treason. Such incidents were rare and never justified. Wyntoun included the story of Cnut's hanging of the Englishman who had thought to win the Dane's favour by murdering Edmund Ironside, and Malcolm Canmore's successful confrontation with a conspirator in his court, as examples of the fates of traitors. The king, alone, was the head of the kingdom; Wyntoun simply acknowledged that the estates had come to play a part in the government.

The king was expected to fulfill certain obligations. His ability to defend his subjects was particularly important, as Pope Zacharius understood when the Franks questioned him about whom they should have as king:

"For the comoune state than he
Decretyd hym thar kyng to be,
That wes lyk to mak defens
For hys land wyth dyligens". 44

The Franks had asked the pope to ratify Pipin's coup since "Sir Hilderik" was mad and could do nothing of value; the estates wondered if it would not be better to give the crown to someone who could fulfill the obligations of the king. Hilderik:

"Had in possession the kynrik
 Off Frawns; bot zhit he was than
 In his deid bot a dasit man,
 In nathynge repute of walew,
 Na couythe do nathynge of wertu,
 Na had bot nomen sine re;
 Commendit for that the les was he.
 The statis of Frawnsse soucht forthi
 Til the pape than Zachary,
 And besoucht hym of consalle
 To decern for thar gouvernaylle,
 Qwhethir he war worthe to haf the crowne,
 That hade be wertu the ranowne
 Off manheide, helpe, and of defens,
 And thar to couythe gif diligens,
 Or he that laye in lethirnes,
 Worthe to nakyn besynes." 45

For the same reasons, the English had judged Edgar Atheling to be unworthy of the crown on account of his age:

"Syne that Edgare Ethlyng,
 Wes lytill for yowthhad of Walu,
 He na wes to governe of Wertu." 46

Wyntoun did not agree in this second instance,⁴⁷ probably because this case was so similar to that of his own king, James, then captive in England; James, according to Wyntoun, would have been rightfully king of Scotland had he only been a night old when his father died.⁴⁸

The king's care for his people was not limited to protection from external enemies; it also entailed firm control of all the elements within the kingdom. Thus, one of David II's characteristics which Wyntoun emphasized was his "radure", his severity, without which no king could rule or protect his people:

"Raddure in prince is a gud thyng;
 For but raddoure al gouernynge
 Sal al tyme bot dispisyt be;
 And qwhar that men may raddoure se,
 Thai sal dreid to presse, and swa

Pessabil a kynge his lande may ma.
Thus raddur gert hym drede be." 49

The kingdom was, therefore, still dependent upon a strong king for its well-being, and the conversation between Malcolm and MacDuff, thane of Fife, showed just how much the populace would bear in return for the care of a strong and trustworthy king.

There was a new emphasis in the verse on the importance of the insignia and especially of the crown. Receiving the insignia at the coronation must have seemed fundamental to the office of king, for Wyntoun felt it necessary to explain that the captive James was still king without it. James was in England:

"Haldyn all agane his wyll,
That he mycht off na-kyn wys
Take ony off his insigniis,
As Crowne, Scheptire, Swerd, and Ryng,
Sic as afferis till a King
Off kynd be rycht: yeit nevyrtheles
Oure liege Lord and King he wes,
Set he had bene bot a nycht ald,
Quhen his fadyre the spirite yauld
Tyl God, that wes his Creatoure,
And his body till sepulture,
His aire, that of kynd wes King,
And off all rycht wythout demyng." 50

The crown could also represent the office of the king. Wyntoun often spoke of the king taking the crown when he succeeded, and at his coronation, Malcolm III was said to have heard oaths from all "That awcht homage to the Crowne."⁵¹ Similarly, the death of Alexander III allowed a collateral line received the crown:

"Qwhen the succession lynealle
Endit, the collateralle
Ressawit of our realme the crowne". 52

Turning to England, Wyntoun stated that Harold had been killed by William after he had stolen the kingdom from those who should, by right, have possessed the crown. William:

"slew this Harald in to fycht,
That usurpyd agayne all rycht

The kynryk, in dyssherysown
 Off thame that suld, wyht all resown,
 Have had the Crowne off herytage,
 Be lauchfull and be lele lynage." 53

A king could either help or hurt his crown. When Magnus of Norway took the Hebrides, he was said to have "ekyd thame till his crowne",⁵⁴ Edward I did the same when he took possession of Wales:

"The Kyng off Ingland held fra then
 In gret threllage the Walys men:
 And the land, as till hys crown,
 He held in fell subjection." 55

On the other hand, Philip I dishonoured his crown by attacking defenceless Normandy while Richard I was collecting his ransom:

"this (Philippe) fylyd the fame
 Off ryale Frawns, and his awyne name.
 Thar fel a fayr floure of his croune,
 Thus til (do) til his companzowne." 56

These examples are evidence of Wyntoun's acceptance of the distinction between the person of the king and his office as was first stated in the Declaration of Arbroath. References to the crown disappeared when the verse reached the Wars of Independence and the Scots, deprived of their king, fought the English and Edward Balliol. It was as if only a king, and not his subjects, could fight for the crown.

The Scottish people were frequently described as defending their kingdom, land, or country, in accordance with their duty to their king. Wyntoun generally used these three words more or less synonymously in the verse to refer to the state, choosing "land" more often than either of the other two. Like the Latin authors, Wyntoun's world was divided into kingdoms which he also called lands, and, less often, countries. An individual's kingdom was his home, and Wyntoun referred to Scotland as "oure kynryk",⁵⁷ "oure land",⁵⁸ and "oure cuntre".⁵⁹ Wyntoun also identified the aristocracy and

other classes by their place of origin; the Scottish nobility were the lords of the kingdom, land or country, but not of the Scottish nation.

The state ruled by the king could be described by any one of these three words or a combination of them, as when a prophet declared that John of England would no longer be ruling in a year:

"Be no way suld he kyng be cald,

That till hys kynryk and hys land
In till ane othir mannys hand
Had pwt". 60

Wyntoun distinguished the kingdoms by their unique characteristics.

Each had its own customs, such as those connected with the succession,⁶¹ and, in ancient times, its own religion, for Wyntoun claimed that Woden had once been worshipped in England:

"In till Saxon quhylum he
A god wes cald in that cuntre". 62

Different kingdoms also had their own laws⁶³ and currency.⁶⁴

Wyntoun often described individuals as members of a nation by birth, and these nations were contained, in almost every instance, in separate kingdoms. Otherwise, the idea of the nation did not often enter the verse. Instead, Wyntoun frequently used kingdom, land and country when referring to their inhabitants, as when "Aloure Land" mourned those slaughtered in the battle at Gasklune,⁶⁵ or when St Augustine went to England and converted "that land".⁶⁶

During the wars against Edward Balliol, the fortunes of the Scots were often described in terms of "the lands" being loyal to one side or the other, as when "Nyddysdale Held at the Scottis fay all hale."⁶⁷ In this way, Wyntoun frequently identified the people and the land on which they lived, as Bower would later do when he referred occasionally to changes of loyalty during the war with Balliol.⁶⁸ Wyntoun

seems to have had this definition in mind when he spoke of the Scottish leaders helping or defending their kingdom, as, for instance, when Wallace met the English at Stirling:

"Quhen Willame Wallas dyd his payne
To succoure the kynrik off Scotland,
Off kyng quhen it wes than Wakand." 69

The idea that an individual should be willing to fight for his country was introduced in the first book of the verse when the Spartans' leader declared to his men that he believed it was his duty to die, if necessary, to preserve Sparta:

"For it is myn honest det
For my land my lyff to set,
And off my-self to be rekles,
Quhyll I have gottyn my land in pes;
Na I prys, na payne apere
Myn honowre and my land to were". 70

The first Scot who was said to have fought for his kingdom was Kenneth mac Alpin; he defeated the Picts and freed his country:

"All the Peychtis he put owte.
Gret bataylys than dyde he
To pwt in fredwme hys cuntre.
Fra the Peychtis left the land,
Sextene yhere he wes lyvand." 71

At the start of the Wars of Independence, the citizens of Berwick who had faced Edward I died in defence of their kingdom and went to Heaven:

"For all thae bodyis that he gert bleid
Deit for the defens of thare kinrik,
And are in bliss, as weill is like." 72

Later, Bruce was moved to free Scotland from the abusive English; their shortcomings as governors had been made amply clear to him when John Comyn proposed that one of them should take the Scottish throne:

"Will yhe noucht se,
How that governyd is this cuntre?
Thai sla oure folk but enchesown;
And haldis this land agayne resown;

(One of us should) bring this land owt off thryllage
 For thare is nothir man na page
 In all this land, (but) thayne sal be
 Fayne to mak thame-selffyn fre." 73

After Bruce's reign, to oppose Edward Balliol was to defend the
 Scottish cause; the Scottish leaders were busy, like William
 Douglas who:

"for the fredome off the land
 Rycht hardy thyngis tuk on hand." 74

Douglas worked constantly for his country:

"In besy trawelle he wes ay
 Till helpe his land on mony wys,
 And till confounde his innymyis." 75

During the guardianship of Andrew of Moray, the commons had to fend
 for themselves as he fought to free his kingdom from the English,
 using all the resources he had at hand:

"All off fors that hym behoŵyd,
 As he his purpos that tyme movyde,
 To drawe the kynryk in fredwme,
 That Inglis men held in gret threldwme:
 Les than swa be na way he
 Mycht drawe in fredwme his cuntre." 76

Wyntoun made his clearest statement of the individual's duty to
 his kingdom during his description of the siege of Berwick by
 Edward III. The town was held by Alexander Seton who had seen one
 son drown while helping repel the English naval assault, and had
 given another to Edward as a hostage. The hostage was hanged by the
 English king who had hoped that Seton would surrender the town to
 save his son. The Setons' grief was assuaged somewhat by the
 knowledge that they had done their duty to their king:

"The fadyre and the modyre alsua
 Thus saw wndone thare swnnys twa
 In to the defens of that towne,
 That thai held off thare kyng wyth crown.
 The dwle, that thae had in that sycht,
 Amessyd wes mekill be the rycht,
 That, thai wyst, fell to thare kyng." 77

And as his wife explained, Seton would win great honour sacrificing his sons and paying his debt to the safety of his country as his elders had done:

"And set bot lytill be that skathe,
For in honowre thai deyde bathe,
Off thaim-selff, and all thare kyn;
And he mare honowre wes lyk to wyn
To spend thame bathe for his lawte,
That (he) off det awcht tyl sawffte
Off hys land, as beforne
Hys eldarys dyd, or he wes borne." 78

Thus, a Scot's duty to his king demanded he sacrifice anything for the sake of his kingdom. Wyntoun usually expressed this duty as fighting for the kingdom, and, indirectly, for the king. This emphasis on the defence of the land was a corollary to the growing distinction between the person of the king and his crown which had found its way into Wyntoun's chronicle. From Wyntoun's point of view, it was the Scots' duty to maintain the freedom their ancestors had won, governed by their king who held his kingdom directly from God:

"The Scottis fowndyd off thare rycht,
But ony help off outward mycht,
Recoüeryd swa thaire herytage
Ewyr to lest wyth thaire lynage;
And oure Kyng to hald hys state
Off God hym-selff immedyate:
Swa for hys warde and hys releffe
Trete he wyth God: he is (his) cheffe,
And nane othir meyne persowne.

. . .
For this fredwme wyth diligens
And Goddis helpe mak we defens." 79

For a kingdom and the people in it to be truly free, it had to have an independent king at its head. It was this unit, the kingdom and its inhabitants united under their king, to which Wyntoun was loyal.

. . .

Wyntoun was one of a myriad of medieval historians who, although "concerned primarily with the most recent events, nevertheless

considered it useful to provide by way of a preamble a sort of rapid survey of universal history."⁸⁰ Wyntoun began his work with Creation and moved fairly quickly through the centuries preceding the first appearance of the Scots; in giving the Scottish origin myth this background, he was able to demonstrate the interconnection of the Scots' history with that of the rest of the world.⁸¹ Wyntoun did not discuss the early history of the Scots at any great length, and compared to Fordun's work, his narrative seems little more than an outline. Wyntoun must not have been satisfied with Fordun's account, as he ignored much of it and chose instead to give three versions of the origin myth. Two of these were similar to one found in the Chronica, and the third, which Wyntoun said he had found in Barbour's Brut, was a version of the myth Fordun had set out to disprove.

The first of these, and the one most similar to the version presented by Fordun, traced the Scots back to Sir Neville, a Scythian who had conquered part of Greece.⁸² Neville was a descendant of Noah's son, Japhet, from whom came the orders of the knights.⁸³ His son, Gedyelle-Glas, married Scota, daughter of Pharaoh, from whom all Scots were descended; realizing that his children should have been heirs to Egypt, Gedyelle-Glas hoped to exploit the riches of that country, but the Egyptian barons banished all aliens when their pharaoh was drowned in the Red Sea. Gedyelle-Glas and his company left Egypt and settled in Spain; from there he sent scouts to the island he had seen in the ocean. He was dead by the time the explorers had returned, but one of his sons agreed to lead an expedition to conquer Ireland, the inhabitants of which posed no real threat to the Scots. There is no word in this account about why Gedyelle-Glas had left Greece or how he came to marry Scota. With so many details removed, the picture of the Scots as one of the

chosen peoples was more or less lost. Furthermore, Gedyelle-Glas was not presented, as he had been by Fordun, as a lawgiver, nor was he the progenitor of the Gaels, and his followers were not divided into Greeks and Egyptians.

The myth which Wyntoun said he had taken from Barbour's Brut is much the same as that Fordun had assigned to Geoffrey of Monmouth. In it, the king of the Britons, Gurgunt-Badruk, was sailing near Orkney when he was met by thirty ships from Spain. The Spanish leader, Partoloyrn, asked for permission to settle in Britain; Gurgunt-Badruk sent them instead to Ireland which was then uninhabited, and it is from them that the "Irischery" were descended.⁸⁴ Wyntoun did not argue against the implied dependence on the British as Fordun had. Either his respect for Barbour would not allow this, or he was not particularly concerned with the implications of the earliest history of his nation since he did not expect his chronicle to reach an international audience ready to question the Scots' independence.

Wyntoun's third account was fairly similar to his first, except that the leader of the wanderers was now a wise Scythian, banished from Egypt, who travelled around Africa to Spain. Twelve hundred years later, in 352 BC, the descendants of his band conquered Ireland. Wyntoun realized that there was a debate about that date, but decided against listing all the arguments as that might not be productive:

"I wil noucht (thir) oppynyons all
Contrary, for thai mycht weil fall;
For it is dowlwisse be the date,
As auctouris in thar storeis wrat,
And othir incedence seyr
Accordande part to this matere." 85

It was not just the date of the Scots' arrival in Ireland which was open to debate; having set out the three versions of the myth, Wyntoun concluded that, whichever account may be correct, he was

himself sure of only two statements: the Scots came out of Spain to Ireland, and they still held both Ireland and Scotland.

"Bot quhethir it be, or othir wayis,
Than all thir autoris before me sayis,
For certane yhe sall wndyrstand,
That owt of Spaynyhe in tyll Yrland
The Scottis come, that to this day
Havys it and Scotland haldyn ay." 86

Clearly, Wyntoun did not have much faith in Fordun's account or any other origin myth he had come across.

On the one hand, Wyntoun put forward the Scots' claim to having settled in northern Britain before the Picts, and on the other, he denied it. His confusion was reflected in the contradictory statements in his text, and he seems to have despaired of ever being able to explain the period in the Scots' history following the second migration from Spain under Simon Brech, the king who brought the Stone of Destiny to Ireland. There was only one other king before the eighth century about whom Wyntoun provided any information, Fergus son of Erc. Wyntoun's authorities claimed that Fergus had been the first Scottish king to rule in Britain before the arrival of the Picts; this Fergus, a descendant of Simon Brech, brought the Stone of Destiny with him:

"Fergus Erchson fra hym (Simon Brech) syne
Down descendande ewyn be lyne
In to the v. and fifty gre,
As ewyn reknand men may se
Broucht this stane within Scotlande,
(First quhen he come and wan the land;)
And it fyrst in Icolmkyll,
...was broucht til". 87

Wyntoun also outlined the extent of Fergus' kingdom in Britain:

"Fergus-Erthswne, that thre yhere
Made hym beyhond the Drwm to stere,
Oure all the hychtis evyrilkane,
As thai ly fra Drwmalbane
Tyll Stanmore and Inchgall,
Kyng he mad hym oure thaim all." 88

He was perplexed by the claim that Fergus had ruled before the Picts had come to Scotland, and the problem of dating Fergus' reign made it difficult to discover the names and degrees of kinship of the rest of the Scottish kings in Britain. Wyntoun was certain the Picts had ruled for one thousand and sixty years, and that they had been banished by Kenneth mac Alpin who was descended from Fergus in the tenth generation. By Wyntoun's reckoning, if Fergus ruled before the Picts arrived in Britain, and if Kenneth's reign began in 843 AD, then the ten generations between the two Scottish kings had to span more than twelve hundred years. As this was inconceivable, Wyntoun was, for the moment, open to suggestions for a solution to his puzzle, and in the meantime, he decided he would follow a reliable Pictish kinglist rather than try to give an account of the Scots' kings of this period:

"Bot I wil noucht tel zow thar nayme
 Thir condiscion na thar fayme,
 For, possible suppose it be,
 Difficile zit it is to me
 To tel thar namys distynctly,
 Or al thar greis seuerelly,
 That befor the Peychtis rasse;
 For as our story mencion mays,
 Fergus-Erschson the fyrst man
 Was that in our lande began,
 Befor that tyme that the Peychtis
 Our kynrik wan fra the Scottis,
 And syne tha Peychtis regnande were
 A thousande ane and sexty zhere.
 And fra this Fergus don be lyne
 Discendande ewyn as Makalpyne
 Keynyaucht, that was aucht hundy zhere
 And thre and fourty passit cleyr
 Eftyr the blest Natywite,
 Or regnande he begowythe to be
 Fra the Peychtis was put out.
 The tende man withouttyn dout
 Was Keynauche-Makalpyne
 Fra this Fergus ewyn be lyne,
 And sa thir ten sulde occupy,
 Gif al war reknyt fulllely,
 Twelf hundyr wyntyr and weil ma;
 Bot I can noucht consaiff it swa

. . .

Gif othir of mare sufficians,
 Can fynde bettyr accordance,
 This buke at likyn thai may mende;
 Bot I, now schortly to mak ende,
 Thynkis for to set thar date
 As cornykleris befor me wrate,
 And kest and reknyt zhere be zhere,
 As the Peychtis regnande were
 And thar dat sa set I wil
 Qwhen the processe is lede thartill." 89

Perhaps Wyntoun had Fordun in mind when he complained that Scottish chroniclers claimed that the Scots had ruled before the Picts, yet he could not discover the names of their kings:

"Sa in our cornyclis as we reide
 That Scottis war regnande mony zhere
 Befor the Peychtis cummyn were
 With in Scotlande, I can noucht ken
 Qwhat thai war callit that regnyt then". 90

There was no evidence to substantiate the claims of these chroniclers and Wyntoun eventually decided the ten generations between Fergus son of Erc and Kenneth mac Alpin could have covered no more than three hundred years. In one of his revisions, he came to the unavoidable conclusion that the Picts had, after all, settled in northern Britain before the Scots:

"Bot be othir auctouris seyr
 The Scottis, I fynde, begouthe to stere
 Qwhen that the Peychtis wes regnande.
 To that I ame accordande,
 And thar dat set I wil,
 Qwhen the processe is lede thar til." 91

Wyntoun's genealogy of Fergus, son of Erc, is similar to that of David I in the Chronica, but not close enough for Wyntoun to have copied Fordun. Fordun's Fergus son of Feredach appeared, perhaps, in Wyntoun's genealogy as Fergo son of Feroret. This is the only time he entered the verse, and nowhere is Fergo depicted as coming from Ireland to rule the leaderless Scottish immigrants in Britain. Wyntoun never mentioned the forty-five kings Fordun claimed separated this Fergus and Fergus son of Erc. By concluding that the

Picts had indeed ruled before the Scots, Wyntoun ignored much of what Fordun had tried to establish as Scottish history in the first two books of the Chronica. He did not even pause over the merits of Fordun's myth before coming to a conclusion the earlier historian would never have countenanced, that the Picts ruled in Britain before the Scots.

Despite his decision to pass over the Scottish kings, Wyntoun did attempt to compile a genealogy of Fergus son of Erc. He never completed it, and later, he altered it in one of his revisions. After he gave up listing Fergus' ancestors, Wyntoun did not return to the Scots or their kings until the reign of Ewan beginning in 724. Instead, Wyntoun took his entries for this period in northern Britain from a Pictish kinglist.

Wyntoun's account of the origin of the Picts was much the same as one of those found in the Chronica which followed the Picts' travels from Scythia to Ireland where they were given wives by the Scots and sent to Britain.⁹² After this short introduction, the history of the Picts was more or less an annotated kinglist clearly related to that in the Chronica.⁹³ Wyntoun placed these entries chronologically amongst those from outside Scotland, though he occasionally reviewed several reigns at once and sometimes confessed that he could not find any information about a king except his name.⁹⁴ A few of the longer notices touched on the foundation of churches such as Abernethy and Wyntoun also inserted a number of saints' lives into the list, concentrating particularly on St. Serf.

He invariably described the Pictish kings as ruling in Scotland, starting with Cruthne:

"Crwthne that tyme Makrymy
Wes the fyrst in till Scotland
Atoure the Peychtys king regnand". 95

When he said the Picts ruled in Scotland, it may be assumed that Wyntoun meant the whole of the kingdom as there is no evidence in his verse that he ever conceived of "Scotland" as Scotia, that territory north of the Forth-Clyde line. It seems that originally the northern part of Britain had been called Albany from the name of Brutus' son, Albanacht,⁹⁶ but Wyntoun rarely used this name when discussing the period before the arrival of the Scots.

Apparently, some time near the beginning of the Pictish kingdom, the Scots migrated to Britain and became the Picts' neighbours:

"By thaim wes Scottis in that tyde,
Regnand, and the fyrst man
Off this wes Fergus-Ercswne than:
And in the Sowth yhit as we rede
Wes Bretownys than of Brwtys sede." 97

There was no more detail of the Scottish migration given in the verse. The Scots later re-entered the narrative under their king, Ewan, who had come to the throne in 724 AD. According to Wyntoun's authorities, he was the first to rule the Scots while the Picts were still their neighbours:

"Oure the Scottis the Kyng Ewan,
Wythe the Peychtis regnyt than
In til the kynrik of Scotlande,
(The) Peychtis tharin than duellande.
Wryttyn it is of hym forthi
In cornyclis aulde the fyrst was he
That oure the Scottis had powste,
Quhen the Peychtis war regnand
In(to) the kynryk off Scotland." 98

From this point, Wyntoun listed both the Scottish and Pictish kings.

The verse hinted at the conquest of the Scottish kingdom by the Picts and once described the Picts as a savage people;⁹⁹ otherwise, there was no background given to the enmity between the two nations. Wyntoun did not spend too much time describing the conquest of the Picts, either. Their rivalry was first mentioned in the entry for the reign of Murthak when they were at war;¹⁰⁰ the outcome must have

been indecisive because for the next one hundred years, the Picts were dwelling "In the kynrik off Scotland".¹⁰¹ The entry for Alpin was limited to a brief description of his war with the Picts and his death while winning Galloway from them. His son, Kenneth, banished all the Picts from Scotland and freed his country. Later, he moved the Scots out of Argyll to the lands which had formerly been inhabited by the Picts. As king, Kenneth treated the Scots well, defended them and gave them new laws:

"Quhen Alpyne this kyng wes dede,
 He lefft a sowne was cald Kyned:
 Dowchty man he wes and stowt.
 All the Peychtis he put owte.
 Gret bataylys than dyde he
 To pwt in fredwme hys cuntre.
 Fra the Peychtis left the land,
 Sextene yhere he wes lyvand.
 Owt off Ergyle the Scottis
 He browcht, and quhare that the Peychtis
 Had before than thair dwellyng
 He gert thame duell, and wes thare kyng:
 And trectyd the Scottis favorably,
 And thame defendyd manlyly.
 Lawys he mad that efftyre syne
 War cald the lawys Mak-Alpyne.
 At Fortevyot hys lyff tuk end.
 Till Ikolmkill than wes he send:
 Thare eneryd yhit he lyis". 102

Kenneth was thorough, and Wyntoun echoed Fordun when he explained that the Picts had been utterly destroyed. Wyntoun was not concerned with where the fugitives had gone. The Picts seem to have vanished and left nothing behind, so some sceptics questioned their having ever existed:

"Bot of the Peichtis is ferly
 That ar vndone sa hallely
 That nouthir ramaynand is langage,
 Nat zit succession of (lynage);
 Swa of thar antiqwite
 Is lik bot fabil for to be." 103

Once the Picts had been banished, Wyntoun never named any other nation which had a claim to any part of Scotland, so like Fordun, he

must have assumed that everyone in the Scottish kingdom was a Scot. Even so, his verse left the impression that the Highlanders were somehow different when it reported that some people thought the Highlanders and islanders could have been descended from the Picts because of their physical stature and strength:

"The Irischery and the folkis of the Ylis
Sum sais thai come of thaim sum quhillis,
For thai ar huge men as the Pightis,
Stalwart and strang of strength and mychtis." 104

Nevertheless, Wyntoun did not go so far as denying that they were Scots, and usually called them "Scottis ... Hieland-men"¹⁰⁵ or the "wyld Scottis men".¹⁰⁶

Wyntoun did not care for the Highlanders and did not hide it, but he did not interrupt his narrative to abuse them as Fordun had done. The Highlanders seldom played any part in Wyntoun's chronicle, centred as it was on the Lowlands, until after the Wars of Independence. Then they entered as raiders, as when Elgin cathedral was burned by wild wicked Highland men:

That ilk yhere efftyre syne
Brynt the kyrk wes off Elgyne
Be wyld wykkyd Heland-men,
As wedand in thair wodnes then.
Sum of thai for that wes slayne;
Sum tholyd wengeans and hard payne
Till thare endyng, but ramede.
Few war off tha, that deyd gude dede." 107

One of the longest entries involving them described the contest at Perth in the presence of Robert III. This so disgusted Wyntoun that he refused to say who had won. The two clans had committed a terrible crime by settling their feud in that way since more died there than at the battle of Gasklune:

"Off thre scoyr wilde Scottis men
Thretty agayne thretty then
In felony bolnyt of aulde feyde
As thar for elderis, war slayne to dede.

. . .

A selcouythe thyng be tha was done:
At Sancte Iohunston beside the Freris

. . .
Qwha had the were thar at the last,
I wil noucht say; bot qwha best hade,
(He) was but dowl bathe moythe and made.
Fyfty or ma war slayne that day;
Sa few withe lif pine past away.
Giff this a skaythe was vniuersale,
Zhit ws fel the mare tynsaile
Off that dawerk, that was done,
As zhe befor herde, at Glasklwe." 108

A less permanent subdivision of the Scottish nation was the party which had favoured Edward Balliol's claim to the throne. Even before Balliol had surrendered his right to Edward III, his partisans were said to hold the "Inglis fay",¹⁰⁹ and they fought alongside the English although they were Scots:

"And off Scotland mony men,
That duelt wyth Edward the Ballyoll then,
That war manlyk, wycht, and stowt,
Ware thare in the Inglis rowt." 110

The Scots and their guardians who supported David II were said to hold "the Scottis fay"¹¹¹ or "the Kyng off Scotlandis fay",¹¹² and were members of "the Scottis party".¹¹³ In his eulogy for Andrew of Moray, Wyntoun praised the guardian for his having won over all the Scots north of the Forth to the Scottish "faith":

"North on fra the Scottis Se
Till the Scottis fay browcht he
All the Scottis natyown". 114

Once the Scottish party controlled the kingdom and Balliol's cause was lost, his partisans were no longer said to form a separate group in Wyntoun's verse.

. . .
Wyntoun seldom passed judgement on the deeds of his own nation or of any other; he wanted to entertain, not preach. Generally, he let the Scots' actions speak for themselves, with occasional criticisms and comments. Most of their deeds were, in fact, praiseworthy, so

they reflected well on the Scots, especially those of outstanding individuals such as David I, William Douglas, and Alexander Stewart, earl of Mar.¹¹⁵

Still, the Scots were not always victorious, and their defeats were almost always accompanied by some sort of explanation. In their defence, Wyntoun claimed that the Scots had never before been defeated as badly as they had been at Falkirk, and they would not have lost in this instance had it not been for falsehood and treachery:

"Before than couth na man say,
Na nevyr wes sene befor that day,
Sa hale Wencust the Scottis men:
Na it had noucht fallyn then,
Had noucht falshed and inw̃y
Devysyd thame sa syndyrly." 116

This was similar to the corresponding passage in Fordun, except the earlier writer had limited the breadth of his claim somewhat by saying that the Scots had never before been so badly defeated by the English.

Wyntoun could not defend the Scots' performances at Dupplin and Homildon Hill. The slaughter at Dupplin had been an act of God, divine vengeance on the lax and inattentive Scots, as an English knight exclaimed when he saw the heaps of dead:

"(Qwhat) sal I ek till Goddis Wengeance?
It ware to gret crualte:
For the warld may playnly se,
That this (is) Goddis deide playnly." 117

Later, the Scots' pride brought about their downfall at Homildon; they had not given proper consideration to the land on which they were fighting when they assembled before the battle, and were quickly beaten.¹¹⁸ This defeat should be an example to all who forget, through pride, that they should always fear God:

"Be this ensawmpill men suld knawe
Thaim-self, and dowt ay Goddis awe,
Quha will noucht ken hymselff for pryd,
That he may schamyd be sum tyde." 119

Previously, when the Scots had been humble and trusted in God, the strength of their foes had been worthless:

"Na set noucht before thame God off mycht,
That offt relevyd thame in to fycht
Agayne the gret mycht off Ingland.
At Mytown, Bannokbrne, and Byland,
Off Goddis help and His gret grace
The victory ay thairis was:
And at Roslyne on a day
Fechtand thryis in hard assay,
Havand God in to thare thowcht,
All thare fays thai cowntyd noucht:
Ilke time fechtand then
The feld aye wan the Scottis men.
Al pompe off pryde thai put by,
And all off God wes ay thowchty:
He ekyd thare manhad and thare mwde,
Tharefor thai drede na multytude." 120

Wyntoun also praised his nation occasionally. He put the claim that all Scots came from gentle stock into the mouths of John Comyn and Simon Fraser, citing their speech at Roslin in which they encouraged their men to face the third English force which came against them in one day. The Scottish leaders had introduced the idea of the Scots' noble origins in the hope that their followers would emulate their ancestors who had loathed slavery:

"Owre eldaris, quhill thai lyvyd, than
Oure gret lyvyn till ws thai wan.
Yhe suld all trow welle, and ken,
That yhe ar cummyn off gentil men:
The sympellast, that is oure ost wyth in,
Has gret gentillis off hys kyn:
Yhe ar all cummyn off aule lynage,
Off lordis off fe and herytage,
That had na thyng mare wgsum,
Than for to lyve in till thryldwm." 121

Their speech must have been effective, for no one could remember a more commendable victory than that won at Roslin by this poor kingdom:

"Thar was na man than liffande,
That evir couythe wit of ony lande,
Or euer herd, or saw befoir,
A mair commendable memore,
As thai did of this puire kinrik,
In that batell bodin vnlyk." 122

The independence of this poor kingdom was a subject very close to Wyntoun's heart. In his chronicle, Malcolm III was never said to have submitted to William I when the English king invaded Scotland; instead, William is said to have fled back to the south:

"Wyllame Bastard wyth hys powere
In Scotland come, and wastyd syne,
And rade all throwcht till Abbyrnethyne.
Bot agayne as he past hame,
Swa he fleyd wes at Durame,
And wes stade in swa gret drede,
That sowth he fled on full gud spede."¹²³

Edward I's claim to overlordship provoked an outburst in defence of Scottish independence. The English king had lied to the French when he said that the Scottish king recognized an overlord:

"Bot he mad fals suggestyown:
Fals wes his relatyown,
And infurmyd (richt) falsly,
And set the case all swykfully;
Quhen he sayd, in herytage
That kynryk wes haldyn for homage
Aucht till a king off grettare mycht,
He sayd all fals, and na thyng rycht."¹²⁴

What is more, Wyntoun explained, since John had granted England and the rest of his possessions to the Pope, Scotland was freer than Edward's own kingdom. The English king had basely slandered a free kingdom. Scotland:

"Wynthowtyn (dowt) wes (ay) mare fre,
Than wes that rewme, that than had he.
He wes nevyr worth, na all his kyn
The freedwme fra that rewme to wyn.

He sawffyd ill kyngis honeste
Swa to sclandyre a kynryk fre."¹²⁵

Again touching on both Scottish and English independence, the only Scottish antiquity which Wyntoun discussed was the Stone of Destiny. It had been brought by Simon Brech from Spain to Ireland where it was "haldyn for jowale And chartyr off that Kynryke hale."¹²⁶ Fergus son of Erc carried it with him when he went to Scotland, where it stayed until Edward I took it to London. The short history

of the Stone ended with the warning, in both Latin and Scots, that wherever the Stone was found the Scots would rule:

"Now will I the werd rehers,
As I fynd off that Stane in wers:
Ni Fallat Fatum, Scoti, Quocunque Locatum
Invenient Lapidem, Regnare Terentur Ibidem.
'Bot gyff werdys falyhand be,
Quhare evyr that stane yhe segyt se,
Thare sall the Scottis be regnand,
And lorddys hale oure all that land.'"¹²⁷

It must have pleased Wyntoun to have this additional evidence to help counter English claims against Scottish independence.

Wyntoun dismissed Edward III's claim to the Scottish throne since he had received it from Edward Balliol. Balliol's claim was groundless because his father had been deprived of all his rights by Edward I; the English king had first erected then deprived King John:

"Fra this Jhon, that he made kyng,
Halyly fra hym he tuk thare,
And made hym off the kynryk bare."¹²⁸

Edward Balliol had no rights in Scotland but had been induced to return there; he won, temporarily, the crown which David II had held for years:

"Bot the crowne, that he thare gat,
He held bot schort qwhill efftyr that:
For owre kyng Daŵy than had the crown,
And joysyd all full possessyown
Wytnys and yheris befor gane,
Or Edward till hym that crowne had tane."¹²⁹

Balliol may have taken the crown, but Wyntoun never called him a king, not even when forced to admit he had held extensive power in Scotland:

"This Edward sa gret a lord wes then,
That all he stwffyd with Inglis men."¹³⁰

Balliol was presented more like an English invader than a Scottish king. Wyntoun does not seem to have thought of Balliol as a true king; so unlike other historians, he must not have considered Balliol's

surrender of his rights to Edward III a real threat to Scottish independence. He reported the surrender matter-of-factly and did not follow it with the usual arguments against its validity:

"And thare, before all his menyhe,
The Ballyolle gave hym all the rycht,
That he had, or he have mycht,
In till the kynryk off Scotland,
And prayid him fast to tak on hand
Till Wenge (hym) on the Scottis men;
That he cald ill and wykyd then.
The kyng ressaywyd that gyfft that day,
And alsa fast held on his way
Till Inghland wyth his gret menyhe.
The Ballyolle wyth hym had he,
That all him tyme in Inghland lay,
And saw nevyre Scotland fra that day."¹³¹

Wyntoun did not recognize the Scottish rights to the English throne, either. He called Margaret the heir to England, and her daughter Maude's marriage to Henry was described as the return of the ancient dynasty, the union of the tree, England, with its root, the line from Locryne, Brutus's son. According to an elderly English knight, England could look forward to better times now that this union had taken place:

"Now gottyn has the tre rute
Off kynd, to comfort and to bute,
And like to beire frute and flour,
Vntilloure help and oure succour,
Sene Saxons in the Scottis blude
Is samyn in zone frely fude,
Dame Mald, oure quene and oure lady,
Now weddit with our king Henry."¹³²

Wyntoun was satisfied that Maude's marriage had reunited the two lines and did not try to establish the Scottish kings' right to the English kingdom through their ancestress.

. . .

Many of the Scottish events Wyntoun covered in his verse can also be found in the Chronica. Those passages Wyntoun added reflect his special interests and those of his audience whose pleasure he seems to have kept in mind at all times. Wyntoun did not explain

where he found this additional material, but many of the entries seem like popular stories and songs he had heard¹³³ and had thought would entertain his audience. For instance, as they were all residents of Fife, it is not surprising that Wyntoun told more than other historians about their early earls, including details of the appeal to Edward I against John Balliol,¹³⁴ and, earlier, a longer description of MacDuff's escape from Macbeth thanks, in part, to the courage of his wife.¹³⁵

Much of his additional information came from the period from the end of the reign of Duncan I through that of Malcolm III, dealing particularly with Duncan's successors. Wyntoun's stories about Macbeth were somewhat contradictory. On the one hand, Macbeth was a just and pious king who went on a pilgrimage to Rome.¹³⁶ On the other, he was a traitor, begotten by a devil, who murdered his uncle then married the widow in order to secure his claim to the throne he had usurped.¹³⁷ His crime was made worse by his having been cared for by the king when he was young; it was while he was still a young man that his ambition was fired by a dream:

"A nycht he thocht in his dremynge
 That sittande he was beside the kynge,
 At a set at hyntyng swa,
 In til his leisch had grewhundis twa.
 He thought, qwhil he was sa syttande
 He saw thre women (by) gangande,
 And tha women than thought he
 Thre werd systeris mast lyk to be.
 The fyrst he hard say gangande by:
 "Lo, zondyr the thayne of Crwmbathy!"
 The to thir woman said agayn:
 "Off Mwrray zondyr is the thayn."
 The thrid than said: "I se the kynge."
 Al this he herde in his dremynge.
 Son eftyr that, in his zouthade,
 Off thir thayndomys he thayn was made;
 Syne next he thought for to be kynge,
 Fra Dunkannys dayis had tane endynge."¹³⁸

Wyntoun seemed unable to decide what to believe about Macbeth;

perhaps it was his knowledge of Macbeth's and Gruoch's donations to St. Serf's that prevented his reporting without qualification all the defamatory stories he had heard about Macbeth.¹³⁹

Wyntoun had also come across stories about Malcolm III's spurious birth, perhaps the remnants of the propaganda invented by Macbeth's supporters. Malcolm, it seems was Duncan's illegitimate son by a miller's daughter whom the king would have married if Macbeth had not brought him to an untimely end. Wyntoun seemed pleased to be able to declare that all the august persons descended from Malcolm had a miller as their progenitor:

"Fra that myllar descendande
 Dame Mawolde the Emprice quhil liiffande
 Was bot in the ferde degre,
 The stok noucht reknyt for to be.
 Zit fra that myllar descendande
 Kingis coym, that wat regnande
 In Scotlande and Ingland, successywe
 As we can rekkyn in our lywe".¹⁴⁰

Malcolm Canmore only became king because his legitimate brothers did not dare to face Macbeth when MacDuff asked them to return to Scotland. Later, one of these brothers, Donald, tried to keep the throne from the true heirs and was blinded by Malcolm's sons when they had won back their kingdom. Donald avenged himself by throttling David's son in front of the child's pregnant mother; this sight killed her, but the baby she had been carrying survived. For his part, Donald was starved to death in prison.

Some of Wyntoun's stories seem to have been inserted solely to amuse his audience, like his tale about William Comyn's arrival in Malcolm Canmore's court where he was made keeper of the chamber door. Since the only Scots words he knew were "cwm in" he was dubbed William "Cumin" by the other courtiers.¹⁴¹ Wyntoun did not add stories, such as Fordun's claims that two Scots founded the University at Paris, which increased the prestige of the Scots. Stories about

illegitimate princes or kings begotten by devils would not have given a particularly glowing picture of the Scots had they been spread abroad. But Wyntoun was writing for a Scottish audience in their own language and seemingly did not anticipate ever having a wider audience. Thus, these stories, whatever points they may have made in the narrative, if any, reflected not only what a gentleman's household in Fife found entertaining, but also what kinds of stories they were willing to listen to, if not believe, about their kings and nation. Wyntoun was more concerned with pleasing his patron than with polishing his nation's image, probably because he did not think anyone who was not Scottish would ever read his chronicle.

. . .

Since Wyntoun's chronicle began with Creation and had to cover hundreds of years before reaching Gedyle-Glas and Scota, his verse necessarily included a large proportion of material which did not involve the Scottish nation, most of which can be found in those earlier books preceding the reign of Kenneth MacAlpin. Despite this, there are fewer xenophobic passages in the verse than in Latin histories. Wyntoun believed it was wrong to ridicule other nations; after all, foreigners were men too, and may prove to be as worthy as those who despised them:

"Men may see wisdome is nane
To lak one vthir natioun;
For men may weill see be resown
At thai ar men als wele as thai,
And quhile perchance preif als weill may
As thai;

. . .

For thi methink that he trowis myss
That outhir litill or noucht is worth
That beris him bettir quhen he cummis forth."¹⁴²

Wyntoun tried to abide by this good intention and rarely commented, adversely or otherwise, on any foreigners, though the events he chose

to report could condemn the other nation. For instance, almost the only information about the Norwegians in the verse is the statement that they murdered Margaret, Alexander III's granddaughter, because they would not accept a female heir to the crown, despite their written laws permitting her succession.¹⁴³ Thus, Wyntoun was not without his prejudices and they crept into his narrative despite his resolution. Indeed, although he rarely spoke out, the impression left to the reader is that Wyntoun did not really care for any nation but his own.

As the narrative progressed, most of the entries from outside Scotland dealt with the French or the English. Wyntoun seems to have liked the French, at least compared to other nations, and although he denounced Philip I for taking advantage of Richard I's captivity, he declared that all Scotland should be grateful to his fourteenth century successor who ransomed John, earl of Moray.¹⁴⁴

If Wyntoun seems to have felt almost friendly towards the French, it was perhaps because they were enemies of the English. He was determined to control his antipathy towards his southern neighbours because he felt it was his duty to tell the truth. It would be wrong to condemn them more than they deserved:

"Bot qwhat that sulde wryttyn be
Suld be al suythe, and honeste.
Set we haf nane affection
Off cause til Inglis nation,
Zit it war bath syn and schayme,
Mar than thai serue, thaim to defame."¹⁴⁵

If the Latin histories were accurate measures of Scottish sentiments, then most of Wyntoun's compatriots would have retorted that it was not possible to defame the English sufficiently. Even so, Wyntoun was fairly successful in keeping to his resolution, for although the English were the much hated enemy, in his verse they were not quite the representatives of everything evil that they had been in

the Chronica.

By and large, Wyntoun did not give vent to his hatred until discussing the Wars of Independence, and even then he was more self-controlled than other Scottish authors. He was content to denounce Edward I's crimes as he came to them. One of the most damning of these passages was his description of the capture of Berwick, in the course of which Edward, aided by the "bischof of the deuill",¹⁴⁶ Bek, celebrated Good Friday by having the inhabitants of the town slaughtered, and in doing so sent them to Heaven. Edward:

"Noucht Kyng, bot a fell tyrand,
Led that day his devotyown:
He gert thare thole the Passyown
Off dede mony a creature
In till gratyous state, and pure,
Clene schreWyn, in gud entent
Redy to tak thare sacrament.
His offyce wes that Gud Fryday
Till here innocentis de, and say
'Allace, Allace, now, Lord, we cry
For hym, that deyed that day, Mercy.'
Nane othir serWys that day herd he;
Bot gert thame slay on, but pete.
The sawlys, that he gert slay down thare,
He send, quhare his sawle nevyrmare
Wes lik to come, that is the blys
Quhare alkyn joy ay lestand is." 147

Edward was, as usual, shown to be a brute, but Wyntoun did not list his many crimes in one entry as Fordun had done, or gloat over his unrepentant death, as Bower was later to do.

Turning to the English nation as a whole, one of their own kings had seen their faults clearly. According to Wyntoun, St Edward the Confessor had all but given up hope for them because they were so sinful:

"For thare wes few in it liffand
That wes commendit of verteous,
Bot euil, gredy and lichoruss;
Na nothir laugh nor zit lawte
Wes vsit in to that cuntre;
For lordis throu thar cuvatiss
The sympill pepill wald suppriss,

And bischopis als, and other prelatis
 In haltane vss held thar estatis;
 Sa that throu thare iniquite
 It wes weill like at that cuntre
 Suld sone periss for the syn
 That wes vsit it within". 148

Wyntoun did not review their faults again until Wallace's execution, and the intervening years had apparently done little to improve their character since they proved to be "fykkil ... all tyme off fay."¹⁴⁹ Wyntoun returned to their untrustworthiness in his discussion of the capture of Prince James in 1406; much to his disgust, the English always broke truces whenever it was to their advantage to do so, no matter how strong the bond:

"It is off Inglis natioune
 The commone kind conditioune
 Off Trewis the werthe to foryett
 Quhen thai will thaim for wynnyng set,
 And rekles of gud faith to be,
 Quhare thai can thare avantage se:
 Thare may na band mak thare sa ferm,
 Than thai can mak thare will thare term." 150

Therefore, even though the ship in which James had been sailing had not broken any of the terms of the truce, the English still held the prince; if only because of this, untrustworthiness would remain the outstanding characteristic of the English in the verse.

Wyntoun managed, to a degree, to restrain his hatred when speaking of the English, yet their jibes at the Scots rankled. He countered some of them by citing a speech supposedly made by the duke of Orleans at the peace negotiations in 1391. The duke was especially fond of the Scots and was annoyed by the English slurs against them:

"Wes nevyr rewme na regyown
 Worthe mare commendatioun,
 As ye ger ws wnderstand,
 Than are the few folk off Scotland." 151

The powerful English nation threatened all the countries near them, yet the "few folk" of Scotland who were their near neighbours, had

not only kept hold of their own kingdom, but had also invaded English lands where they did what they pleased for as long as they wished. Therefore, the English could not slander the Scots without belittling themselves:

"All landis lyand yowe abowte
 Ar for yhour powere ay in doute.
 Bot the few folk off Scotland,
 That be dry marche ar lyand
 Nere yhow, thai kepe thaire awyne,
 As till ws is kend and knawyn,
 And will cum wyth thare powere
 Playnly in yhoure land off were,
 Oure day and nycht will ly thare in,
 And in yhoure sycht yhour land oure bryn,
 Tak youre men, and in presowne
 Hald tham, quhill tha pay ransown.
 Youre catale and youre gude thai ta;
 Youre men thae spare nocht for to sla,
 Quhen ye set you thaim for to grewe
 To serve you sua tha ask na leve,
 Bot ay tha qwyte yow lill for lall,
 Or that thai skale thare markat all,
 As we haue be relatioun,
 Off mony famows lele persone,
 That in thai Realmys bath has bene,
 And takynnis off alle this has sene.
 That Natioune ye may na gat defame,
 Bot gyff ye smyt your awyn wyth schame.
 Symply ye relewe youre pris
 To sklandy that Natioune be malis." 152

. . .

Wyntoun's faith in God's ability to intervene in human affairs and his loyalty to the Catholic church permeated his verse. Many of the entries in the first books of the chronicle were stories taken from the Bible, the history of the early church, and the lives of the saints. Later, Wyntoun's discussion of the church outside Scotland was centred almost exclusively on the fortunes of the popes. He had little sympathy for the heretics who would have demoted the pontiff; the pope was the "kepare off all Crystyndome"¹⁵³ whose position within the church had been ratified by the emperor Constantine:

"He ordanyd alsua that the Pape,
 That off the warld is mast byschape

Suld be owre byschapys in honoure,
As is owre kyngys the emprioure." 154

Wyntoun reminded his readers that they should follow the example of their victorious ancestors who had been obedient to their spiritual father:

"The Pape oure fadyre is spyrytualle:
Devote hys swynnys we ar halle:
And redy aly till hys byddyng
In lefull and in honest thyng:
And yhit mare indyfferent
We ar all tyme obedyent
Swa has owre eldrys all tyme bene.
Be gret wytnes that has bene sene
Off thame, that recoveryde oure land
To thame and thayris wyth stalwart hand." 155

When describing Pipin's takeover of Childeric's throne, Wyntoun spoke in passing of the pope's rights over temporal rulers as described in Innocent III's decretal Venerabilem.¹⁵⁶ All the royal insignia needed to be blessed, so it followed that the church should be able to inspect and reject individuals and guard against the crown's falling into the hands of a heathen.¹⁵⁷ Wyntoun did not defend or emphasize the papal right to remove a king from his throne, and it was only mentioned in the episode involving Childeric and Pipin.

Eventually, entries about the Scottish church took over from those about the church in general. There were some surprising omissions; for instance, the speech that the Scottish cleric, Gilbert, was supposed to have made declaring the independence and general superiority of the Scottish church to the English delegates at the Council of Northampton does not appear in the verse. Once the church in Scotland was securely established and most of its abbeys and bishoprics had been endowed, Wyntoun's primary concern was the bishopric of St Andrews. Entries for these bishops continued through the account of the Wars of Independence and can be found even when Wyntoun seems to have lost interest in the rest of the church.

Wyntoun seems to have assumed that God was ultimately responsible for everything and was directly involved in human affairs, even though He was rarely described as actually having intervened. Evidence of Wyntoun's belief can be found in scattered passages, like that in which he reminded the Scots that the victories of which they were so proud had been won by God and that only when their pride blinded them to His generosity had they lost His support and been defeated.

In the later books of his chronicle, and especially after the Wars of Independence, Wyntoun was more interested in the battles and political intrigues of the laymen than in the succession of the popes or the affairs of the church inside or outside Scotland. Perhaps he had chosen, again, to put his wish to please his audience before his own preferences; either that, or despite his holy orders, he was himself more interested in secular affairs.

. . .

Wyntoun had consulted Fordun's Chronica and had disagreed with much that he had found there. It seems that Fordun's efforts to rebuild the Scots' early history in order to counter all English claims against Scottish independence were not entirely appreciated by all his compatriots. Wyntoun, for one, rejected Fordun's conservative attitude towards the king and his outline for the Scots' early history, and chose to compile his chronicle from other Scottish stories. In this way, the traditions which had survived in Scotland despite the popularity of Fordun's account turned up in Wyntoun's verse, the only universal history extant which even partially represented these traditions. There are other works of narrower scope which were also written in this tradition, and it is these works which will be discussed next.

"Forthi ilk man be off trew hardy will,
And at we do so nobill in-to deid
Off ws be found no lak eftir to reid."
-Blind Hary

Other Vernacular Historical Works

Historical works in Scots come in various forms, from Wyntoun's universal history covering several millenia to the biographies of Bruce and Wallace which are limited to two or three decades. This variety did not prevent their compilers' sharing certain attitudes with the Latin authors, particularly their pride in Scottish independence and hatred of the English. One author chose to answer England's claims to sovereignty by systematically examining English history in "~~an~~tractat of a Part of the yngliss cronikle schawand of thar kingis Part of thar ewill and cursit governance".¹ Most Scottish writers seem to have preferred concentrating on Scottish history rather than English, and it is these works which shall be looked at here.

Not all these works were narratives; "ane tractat drawin owt of the scottis cronikle" is a series of brief chapters, rarely more than a few sentences, tracing the history of the Scots from the marriage of Gaythelos and Scota to the beginning of James IV's campaign in England in 1513. Unfortunately, it is not known when or where this chronicle was compiled. One of the few details added by its author was that William of Kinghorn, vicar general of St Andrews, was responsible for banishing the English from Scotland at the beginning of the Wars of Independence,² and this reference to Fife may be a clue to the origin of the "scottis chronicle".

Much of it is little more than an annotated kinglist drawn, by and large, from Fordun's Chronica or a translation of it,³ with an extra king, Constantine, inserted, and Achaius renamed Ethsin.⁴ The compiler must have been confused by Fordun's account of the three migrations from Spain to Ireland, for he contradicted himself when explaining how the Scots came to settle on the island; otherwise, the myth is the same as that found in the Chronica, including the tale of the

foundation of the University of Paris by two Scots.⁵ Later, there are a number of embellishments, such as the statement that Alexander I had been good to the church but not to his subjects,⁶ and that Edward I had had John Balliol murdered after his deposition.⁷

Throughout his work, the author concentrated on the king; even Wallace's governorship was written off as an interregnum:

"The pepill of scotland than havand na king to defend
tham Bot willam wallace defendit the realm till the
cummyn of the bruss". 8

The "scottis cronikle" did not report local events, and there were few entries about anything outside secular concerns. This was not the case with another work which is also not a narrative, the "Auchinleck Chronicle". This, like the Latin "memorabilia" in the Register of Moray, was not centred on the activities of the king and depended on local material. Various folios of the "Auchinleck Chronicle" are now missing and the manuscript is incomplete; it seems that the text is made up of "two distinct series of entries, the first of which commences with 1428 and goes down to 1460, while the second begins with 1420 and ends with 1455."⁹ Both were compiled during the reign of James II¹⁰ but exactly when and why they were combined remains a mystery. At least one of these series was more than likely composed in Paisley abbey, since one of its more detailed notices was the eulogy of an abbot of that house, enumerating the many improvements he had made while in office.¹¹

The material for this chronicle was drawn from all over lowland Scotland, with more from the west than is usually found in the histories in this study. At times, it lapses into a catalogue of obituaries and duels, with few comments on any of the reports. Even so, there is still evidence of the chroniclers' dislike of the English and parts of it reflect the "concern in the south-west with new schemes

for Glasgow's aggrandisement", along with some of the hostility towards the new university.¹² Entries for events on the national level seem rather distant and detached compared to some recording feuds, or the description of the perfectly preserved corpse found in Dumfries which "men demyt ... was a barne or cosing of sanct margaretis".¹³ Neither of the chroniclers planned general, national histories like the "scottis cronikle". Despite this, three statements were tacked on the beginning of the chronicle which had been taken from an origin myth:

"Item It Is to wit that the scottis Regnit befor the pictis ii^c lxxv zeris and thre monethis The pictis Regnit i^m lxi zerr fra thai began or thai war distroyit. Scotland was a kinrik befor the Incarnacioun CCCC xliiii zeris." 14

As the next entry jumps to 1428, it may safely be assumed that these writers were not concerned with following the fortunes of their nation from its origin. Yet, one of them was proud enough of the Scots' independence and their long possession of their kingdom to preface his chronicle in this way.

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An anonymous chronicler agreed with Wyntoun's judgement that Fordun's account of the origin of the Scots was not entirely satisfactory; unlike the distraught poet, this author chose to compile his own version of the myth. One editor has suggested that the differences in the wording of two texts of this myth indicate they were independent translations of a Latin original.¹⁵ He was referring to "The Chronycle of Scotland", copied about 1460,¹⁶ and to the "Scottis Originale" in the Asloan manuscript which dates from the reign of James V; a third text was made sometime after 1482 titled "Heir is assignit the Cause quhy oure natioun vas callyt fyrst the Scottis".¹⁷ They are all derived from the same source, Latin or

Scots, but do not match exactly; this third manuscript could be still another translation of a now lost Latin original. The scribe who copied "the Cause" added a number of entries up to 1482; as this original material must also be studied here, for convenience sake this version of the origin myth will be referred to as "the Cause".

This account of the origin of the Scots is familiar, clearly related to the Chronica. The compiler of "the Cause" could cite written authorities, none of them Scottish historians, when it suited him. Nevertheless, it is impossible to know whether or not its author had actually read Fordun's work. Some of the Latin verses which turn up in this vernacular account can be found in the earlier narrative; still, much of Fordun's version of the myth could have become part of the popular tradition, and the Latin verses were not necessarily original to his Chronica.

The author of "the Cause" systematically rewrote the myth to present a more respectable picture of the Scots. Many of the episodes which might have raised uncomfortable questions about the integrity of the Scottish nation were either smoothed over or omitted, starting with its founders. In Fordun's Chronica, Gathelos had been the eponymous ancestor of the despicable Highlanders, so his waywardness while in his father's kingdom reflected more on them than on the entire nation. In "the Cause", there is no mention of the division into Highlanders and Lowlanders; after introducing Gathelos, whom he called Gayel glas, this author explained that it was from his name that "our langage is callit galeig"¹⁸ or "Gayelgaggit".¹⁹ Once the division of the nation had been removed, Fordun's portrait of Gathelos became an embarrassment. Therefore, the founder of the race in "the Cause" was no longer the handsome

and rebellious son of a Greek king who, exiled from his homeland, won the hand of the daughter of the pharaoh. Instead, it seems that there was an alliance between Egypt and Greece, and when the Ethiopians attacked Egypt, the king of Athens sent his son Gayel glas to their aid; after the Greeks' victory, the grateful Pharaoh gave his daughter Scota to the prince. And in case any of the readers should wonder why the nation took its name from Scota, the author added that it was simply because "the custome was than to call natioun eftir women and not eftir men as in asia affrica and europa the thre pryncipale partis of the warld"²⁰.

Apparently, there were some who believed that the Scots were descended from the Egyptians on both sides and "luf ws nocht ... thairfor"²¹. The author of "the Cause" conceded this possibility but denied that this was a black mark against the Scots; Egypt, after all, had been chosen to shelter Christ during his childhood.²² He had little faith in the probability of pure Egyptian ancestry, and proclaimed that unlike those nations, left unnamed, who claimed the Trojans as their forefathers, the Scots were descended from the two best nations of the world:

"we are cummyn of the maist werschippfull natioun that ever was in erd that is the grekis on the mannys side Gayel glas and of the Egiptanis on the womannis side Scota ... the grekis was the maist wirschippfull natioun that evir was for thai haif bene twise conquirrit of the warld be Artules and Alexandir and the troiane neuir bot at zair defence and vincust at the last". 23

It would not have suited this author to admit that the Scots had been expelled from Egypt by the barons of that country; this Greek prince and his wife left when the plagues descended upon Egypt.²⁴ What is more, the company which left Egypt was comprised, in the main, of "lordis and gentill men",²⁵ a comment reminiscent of Wyntoun. As Gayel glas was no longer an exile, this raised the question about

why he did not go back to Greece; the chronicler was prepared for this as well:

"thai decretit to pas with thair folk that thai brocht of grece and manye of egipte for to seik woid landis and to inhabyte thame for he wald nocht pase in his cuntre agane as the maner was that tyme". 26

This account of their travels to Spain and Ireland is much the same as that in the Chronica, except for the claim that Portugal was called Portyng Gayell²⁷ for Gayel glas, and later, he had only one son, Iber, to send to Ireland.²⁸ This author simplified the story considerably; this meant, amongst other things, that there was only one migration to Ireland, and Simon Brech, who was the leader of the third migration from Spain the the Chronica, became one of the first Scots to settle in Scotland in "the Cause".²⁹ These migrations began three hundred years before the fall of Troy, and Brutus could not have been born before another century had passed:

"sa the nacion of Scottis begouth before the Britones were iiii zere. Sa mycht we never cum of thame sen we war sa lang before thame". 30

The Pictish origin myth was also modified slightly; instead of being led by a certain Agenor, as they were in one of Fordun's accounts, the Picts were expelled from Scythia by Agenor, a prince of Egypt.³¹ The Picts were sent by the Scots from Ireland to Scotland which they had already begun to colonize. As the Picts became more numerous, they began to abuse their Scottish neighbours, so a prince, Fergus Ferchar³² or Feradach,³³ was sent from Ireland to take the crown in Scotland and protect his people. He brought the Scottish royal arms with him; these were described in a verse which can also be found in the Chronica.³⁴

Thus, unlike Wyntoun, this author accepted that Fordun's Fergus son of Feredach had existed. It was the second Fergus, the son of

Erc, who did not appear anywhere in this vernacular account, thereby avoiding any reference to the Scots' exile. It seems unlikely that this author rejected the story of the exile because he thought it was unhistorical; the ignominy attached to exile, even when it was the only alternative to slavery more than likely moved him to ignore this entire period. "The Cause" did not name any Scottish kings except Goran, Gregory, and Kenneth mac Alpin from the reign of Fergus Ferchar to Malcolm III. This author was more concerned with safe-guarding Scottish independence than with summarizing Scottish history, and only touched on those points which were relevant to his arguments. Therefore, instead of reviewing the reigns of the early Scottish kings, he pointed out that the Scots had not only stood against the Romans when the Britons had been reduced to tributary status, but had also knocked down the wall built "to kepe ws fra the britons" and killed the emperor, Severus, at York.³⁵

Later, the British king, Arthur, was denounced as a tyrant and usurper who had taken the throne from the rightful heir, Moldred or Mordred,³⁶ and had broken his alliance with the Scots. The claims that Arthur had conquered thirty kings were refuted; after all, the Saxons had invaded Britain and stayed there despite the best efforts of this allegedly omnipotent king:

"tharfore it is nocht lyk that he conquest xxx kingis that
in his awn mycht no put out the saxons the quhilk euir maid
him were". 37

Furthermore, the kings of Scots had held Scotland before the Britons and Saxons had ever come to Britain, so when they did homage to the English kings, it was not for their kingdom but for the lands they held in England. The Scots had never been conquered by anyone, Arthur and the English included:

"suppose thait scotland was lang tyme wexit with wer of

diuerss natioun that is to say romans brytanis saxons danys
 norweis pechtis Gotis and Ingliss men neuir the less thai
 war put out euir be scottis be cruele force of batell ...
 Sa that we may say this day in verite that thar is no land
 no na natioun sa fre fra the begynnyng of the world na has
 standyn sa lang tyme in fredome as has the scottis for thae
 hafe beyne xviii hundir zeris and mare unconquest and neuir
 was subieckit to na natioun or king to this day bot euir
 undir our king of oure awin blude be rycht line discendand
 fra oure first king fergusse befor said to him that now rygnys".³⁸

Far from the English ever having been the Scots' overlords, this
 author seems to have agreed with the Latin authors that the English
 kingdom should belong to the king of Scots by the right inherited
 from St Margaret.³⁹

Having rewritten the origin myth in such a way that it was even
 more useful for the defence of Scottish independence, this author
 attacked the English in what seems to have become the traditional
 manner. Their king was said to have been descended from a devil, as
 their own chronicles testified, and the nation was no better than its
 sovereign. In particular, they were completely untrustworthy;
 wherever they made their securest promises, they were sure to break
 their word. They always abused their northern neighbours although
 they should have been grateful to the Scots for having given them the
 Christian faith. At least one Scottish king took vengeance on them
 for their falsehood; English chronicles were again cited as evidence
 that Gregory had held England up to the Thames for thirty years.⁴⁰

Appended to one manuscript of "the Cause" is a rapid survey of
 history, mostly Scottish, from the incarnation to 1482. Most of
 these entries were quite brief, and the majority were drawn from
 church history until the chronicle reached the time of the Wars of
 Independence, when the author turned to secular Scottish affairs.
 It has been suggested that the "anonymous author of this fragment
 may well have been a supporter of James III's rebellious brother,

Alexander, duke of Albany",⁴¹ because he omitted any reference to the Duke's treason and discussed his career even during his exile. While it is true that this author did not denounce those barons who arrested James III as traitors as he had the assassins of James I, there are only two references to the duke himself in the text; the first described his capture at sea by the English and his subsequent release, and the second dealt with his exile in the most general terms. In 1479, James III:

"banysyt Alexander his brothir duke of Albany and passyt in france and was maryit thare and eftir that he come in Ingland and maid his residence with king edward of Ingland". 42

Considering the opinion of the English in the origin myth he had just copied or translated, the duke's residence in England was more than likely one of those episodes the chronicler would have glossed over had he been Albany's supporter. These cursory passages show little sympathy for any of the individuals described in them and give more information on the storms and prices of food in Scotland than on the affairs of state. At the end of his account of the confrontation between James and the barons at Lauder church and the king's subsequent arrest in Edinburgh castle, this author concluded, "And than the wictuall grew bettir chaip".⁴³

In the other two texts, the origin myth finished with the statement that the early king, Gregory, had conquered much of England. This author and those who chose to copy or translate his myth, were intensely proud of their nation and its independence; their version of the myth ensured that the best possible picture of the Scots was presented and that:

"the opynyon of thame may not stand that trowis we come (of) Brutus quhilk come of the traytouris of Troye". 44

A scanty account of John Barbour's life following his appointment to Aberdeen can be drawn from the records, since he was a churchman and royal servant as well as a scholar and author.⁴⁵ The circumstances surrounding the composition of the Bruce remain a mystery. He was writing his biography of Bruce and Douglas in 1375, or, by his own reckoning, the fifth year of the reign of Robert II,⁴⁶ and more than likely had gone to Aberdeen in search of the requisite peace and quiet.⁴⁷ He had been moved, he claimed, by a wish to ensure that the Scots' great deeds would not be forgotten by recording them for the enjoyment of his compatriots. The Bruce was not specifically addressed to the king, but was much appreciated by him; Robert II seems to have agreed that the brave should be remembered:

"Tharfor I wald fane set my will,
 Gif my wit micht suffis thartill,
 To put in writ ane suthfast story
 That it lest ay furth in memory
 Sa that na tym of lenth it let
 Na ger it haly be foryhet.
 For ald storyis that men redis
 Representis to tham the dedis
 Of stalward folk that livit ar
 Richt as tha than in presens war:
 And certis tha suld wele haf pris
 That in thar tym war wicht and wis,
 And led thar lif in gret travale,
 And oft in hard stour of battale
 Wan gret pris of chevalry,
 And war voidit of cowardy,
 As was king Robert of Scotland
 That hardy was of hart and hand,
 And Schir James of Douglas
 That in his tym sa worthy was
 That of his pris and his bounte
 In fer landis renounit was he.
 Of tham I think this buk to ma." 48

His poem was not a history of the nation; it was centred on an individual and his supporters who pulled their kingdom back from the brink of disaster. In fact, the nation itself was seldom mentioned. The kingdom's fate had been decided during Bruce's reign by several outstanding men with God's help, and not by any quality particular to

the Scottish nation.

It was assumed in the Bruce that the kingdom was wholly dependent upon its king; for instance, when Alexander III died, Barbour reported that Scotland had been left desolate for over six years.⁴⁹ Barbour was circumspect in his treatment of the period from the Great Cause to Bruce's decision to take the throne, undoubtedly to avoid the question of Bruce's position at the time. Once Balliol had been removed from office, the kingdom and everyone in it was said to have suffered when Edward I's officers took over the administration. The Scots only hope lay in a king who could free their kingdom.

Barbour had no second thoughts about Bruce's right to the throne. The poet did not side-step the issue of Bruce's murder of the Comyn as he had Bruce's chequered career up to that point. He portrayed Comyn as a traitor to the man he had agreed should be king, and therefore he deserved to die, but not at the altar of a church, so Bruce's early misfortunes were blamed on his sacrilege.⁵⁰ Murder and sacrilege aside, once Bruce was crowned, he was king, even though he could not fulfill the most basic obligation of kingship, the protection of his people. Barbour's belief that Bruce was the rightful king was highlighted by his treatment of the Bruce brothers. Robert's successful reign in Scotland was everything his brother's abortive campaign in Ireland was not. For a start, the throne was Robert's by right, though he had had to fight for it. Fordun would later imply that Edward had been invited by the Irish to be their king.⁵¹ Barbour claimed it was Edward who had taken the initiative and implied that Edward had no right to the Irish throne by never calling him king; instead, he was "Schir Edward, that was comonly Callit the king of Irland".⁵² On the other hand, when Robert's fortunes were at their lowest ebb, Barbour never failed to call him king.

Even during the defeats at the start of his reign, Bruce's royal qualities could be seen when he protected his men:

"Sa wele defendit he his men,
That quhasaevir had sene him then
Pruf sa worthely vassalage
And turn sa oftis the visage,
He suld sayhe aucht wele to be
Ane king of ane gret rialte." 53

Once Bruce had rid the kingdom of his enemies he was able to rule properly, defend the kingdom, protect his people, and maintain justice. Barbour prayed Bruce's descendants could do the same, for their kingdom's sake:

"God grant that tha that cumin ar
Of his offspring mantem the land
And hald the folk wele till warand,
And mantem richt and ek lawte
Als wele as in his tym did he." 54

If they were to emulate him, their kingdom would prosper as it had under Bruce:

"King Robert now was wele at hicht,
For ilk day than grew mar his micht.
His men war rich, and his cuntre
Aboundit wele of corn and fe
And of alkyn othir riches;
Mirth and solas and blithnes
Was in the land all comonly,
For ilk man blith was and joly." 55

Thus, for Barbour, a strong, wise king meant prosperity for the kingdom just as an empty throne meant desolation.

It was especially advantageous for the Scots to support Bruce since he stood for the freedom of the realm. Barbour, like Wyntoun, used land, country, and kingdom interchangeably when describing the political state. He spoke occasionally of people who had been determined to fight for their country, as when the nobles declared they would face the English at Bannockburn:

"For dout of ded we sall nocht fale,
Na nane pane sall refusit be
Quhill we haf mad our cuntre fre." 56

According to Bruce, the fact that the Scots were fighting for their country was one of their strengths when they faced Edward II:

"For we haf thre gret avantagis.

. . .

The thrid is, that we for our lifis,
And for our childer, and our wifis
And for the fredom of our land,
Ar strenyeit in battale for to stand." 57

The reward for those who died for their country was eternal bliss, as Bruce himself assured his supporters at the start of the battle of Methven:

"And a thing will I to yhou say,
That he that deis for his cuntre
Sall herbry it intill havin be." 58

The freedom of the individual was entirely dependent upon the freedom of his country; thus, Bruce's followers were defending their personal freedom when they took up his cause. As Bruce reminded his men at Bannockburn, they could have chosen to live in slavery rather than join him:

"Yhe micht haf livit into thrildom,
Bot, for yhe yharnit till haf fredom,
Yhe ar assemblit her with me". 59

If they fought well, they would be rich, free, and happy; if they failed, they would lose everything:

"Intill yhour handis forowten fale
Yhe ber honour, pris, and riches,
Fredom, welth, and gret blithnes,
Gif yhe contene yhou manfully:
And the contrar all halely
Sall fall, gif yhe lat cowardis
And wikkitnes yhour hartis suppris." 60

The tie between individual liberty and that of the kingdom was demonstrated by Barbour in his passage on freedom; when an enemy took over the administration of justice, then the people of the kingdom were slaves:

"Alas! that folk that evir was fre,
And in fredom wont for to be,

Throu thar gret mischans and foly
 War thrillit than sa wikkitley
 That thar fais thar jugis war.
 Quhat wrechitnes may man haf mar?" 61

To support Bruce was to defend Scottish independence, so when told of his brother's pact with Mowbray for the relief of Stirling, the king hoped to be joined by:

"all that lufis us tendirly
 And the fredom of this cuntre". 62

In the Bruce, Scotland's freedom depended on Bruce's success, so individuals were judged by the strength of their loyalty to him. Faithfulness in general, and to the king and kingdom in particular, was the greatest of all virtues, and was one of the attributes shared by all the heroes of the poem. Douglas was the epitome of the loyal lieutenant:

"Large and lufand als was he,
 And our all thing lufit lawte.
 Lawte to luf is gretumly:
 Throuch lawte lifis men richtwisly:
 With a vertu of lawte
 Ane man may yhet sufficiand be.

• • •
 He was in all his dedis lele,
 For him dedenyheit nocht to dele
 With trechery na with falset. 63

Disloyalty, whether to the king or not, was the worst of failings:

"And but lawte may nane haf pris,
 Quethir he be wicht or he be wis,
 For, quhar it falyheis, na vertu
 May be of pris na of valu
 To mak ane man sa gud that he
 May simply callit gud man be." 64

Disloyalty to the king threatened everyone in the kingdom since they were dependent on Bruce to free their kingdom. The king mourned three men who had been ruined by their attempt to murder him:

"The king said, 'Sa Lord me se,
 Tha had bene worthy men all thre
 Had tha nocht bene full of tresoun,
 Bot that mad thar confusioun.' " 65

Barbour never used the phrase Anglo-Scots which appeared in later historical works; to him, those who supported Bruce were Scots and those who did not were English, no matter what their nation may have been by birth. This practice led to Barbour's calling Sir Lawrence of Abernethy an "Inglisman" until he left "the Inglismentis pes" and swore to Douglas "for to be lele and trew".⁶⁶ Another knight converted from English service was said to have "becumin Scottisman",⁶⁷ and before he went to England, Sir Ingeram de Umphraville was "with the King as Scottisman".⁶⁸

The definition of the Scots as those opposed to the English seems to have encompassed the Highlanders as well. Barbour spoke of the Highlanders only occasionally, as when "the Erischery ... of Argile and the Ilis" accompanied Bruce to Biland.⁶⁹ If Barbour harboured the hatred for them that was a common denominator of most of the other histories, he kept it in check. The lord of Lorne was portrayed as the king's constant opponent, and Bruce was said to have been suspicious of Angus of Islay when given Donavardin castle, though in this instance, Barbour explained immediately that Bruce never trusted anyone until he knew them very well.⁷⁰ Still, the accounts of Bruce's campaigns in the Highlands were not punctuated by polemics against the inhabitants of that area, and those who supported the king were as much Scots as anyone else. Barbour wished to preserve the heroic deeds of Bruce and his companions; explaining the divisions of the nation had even less to do with his task than the insulting tirades had with the universal histories.

The Scots' war against the English was presented as a confrontation of good and evil, so the Scots were almost always justified in the means they chose to use against their enemies. Some of their choices might not have been presented in the same positive fashion had

Barbour not considered them the necessary means to free the kingdom. Certainly, if Douglas had not been fighting the English when he made his first foray against his own castle and attacked the church, the passage would not have made this seem like a heroic adventure, nor would it have been finished with a grim joke about Douglas' larder. It was also a dubious tribute to Douglas, except from a Scottish point of view, that his raids into England were so effective English children were terrified of his name and the English thought he was more fierce than any devil.⁷¹ Surely, if any English knight had had this reputation, he would not have been lauded as a paragon of loyal knighthood. In Douglas' case, the struggle for Scottish independence justified the means he employed, as when Bruce sent him with Moray on a raid into England in order to distract the English from their siege at Berwick. The Scots went:

"In Ingland for to brin and sla
 And sa gret ryot thar to ma
 That tha that lay segeand the town
 Quhen tha hard the distructioun
 . . .
 That tha suld lef the sege in hy
 And wend to reskew hastely
 Thar gudis, thar frendis, and thar land
 . . .
 it was pite for to se
 To tham that wald it ony gud,
 For tha distroyit all as tha yhud." 72

Barbour may have felt a bit sorry for the sufferings of the English, but he never blamed the Scots for inflicting them.

The poet's assumption that the Scots could do very little that was indefensible was reinforced by his belief that God had supported them throughout their struggle. God's grace had allowed Bruce to win his kingdom:

"Sen God sa far gras till him sent
 That he had wonnin all his land
 Throw strinth of armis till his hand". 73

Moray's victory against Clifford's party just before Bannockburn had been sent by God,⁷⁴ and His strength was the foremost of the three advantages the Scots had over their enemies there, as Bruce explained:

"For we haf thre gret avantagis.
The first is, that we haf the richt,
And for the richt ay God will ficht." 75

As it turned out, God did bring the Scots their victory against the numerically superior English who:

"war all out to fele to ficht
With few folk of ane simpill land:
Bot, quhare God helpis, quhat may withstand?" 76

Furthermore, one of the few miracles recorded in the verse was a sign of favour to the Scots; when the fighting was at its fiercest during the defence of Berwick led by Walter Stewart, the children and pregnant women gathered the spent arrows for the defenders' use without any casualties, "and that was mar The mirakill of God almichty".⁷⁷

Barbour's piety was reflected in his picture of the Scots as a faithful and devout nation. He was writing about the heroics of knights and did not turn aside to follow the successions of churchmen or to report any of the church's worldly affairs. Clerics did not play an outstanding part in his verse, despite Barbour's vocation, but throughout the poem, the Scots were ready to acknowledge God's help and thank Him for it. Barbour's personal piety was shown, again, in his prayer for the souls of his heroes:

"It is wele worth forouten were
That thir namis for evirmar
That in thar time sa worthy war
That men till her yhet has dante
Of thar worschip and thar bounte,
Be lestand ay fourth in lowing;
Quhar he that is of hevin king
Bring tham he up till hevinis blis
Quhar alwais lestand lowing is." 78

If the Scots were going to Heaven, as Barbour clearly hoped, it

safely assumed the English were not; they were the villains of the poem, by and large devoid of redeeming virtue. For once, Edward I was not singled out as the personification of all evil, though he was not spared. The Scots should never have trusted him to be the judge in the Great Cause, for he planned from the start to benefit from their trouble.⁷⁹ On his deathbed, Edward realized he had been wasting his strength against the Scots and should have been fighting to free Jerusalem. This revelation did not bring repentance; instead, Edward ordered the execution of those captured at Kildrummy, much to the amazement of Barbour:

"It was gret wondir of sic sawis,
That he that to the deid was ner
Suld answer apon sic maner
Forouten mening of mersy.
How micht he traistly on him cry
That suthfastly demis all thing
To haf mersy for his crying
Of him that throu his felony
Into sic poynt had na mersy?" 80

The English nation was proud, like Edward II, who, on his way to Bannockburn:

"wele presumit thar was nocht
In warld ane king micht him withstand:
The landis of Scotland delt he then.
Of othir menis gudis full large was he." 81

As Bruce told his army at Bannockburn, the English would be merciless victors, but they would not be able to muster the same spirit as the Scots because they had followed Edward II north out of greed:

"I warn yhou wele yhet of a thing,
That mar mischef may fall us nane
Than in thar handis to be tane,
For tha suld sla us, I wat wele,
Richt as tha did my brothir Nele.
For, thouch our fais haf mekill micht,
Tha haf the wrang: and succudry
And covatis of senyhory
Amovis tham forouten mor". 82

To their credit, some Englishmen at Bannockburn preferred death in

battle to flight once it became clear that the Scots would win; some reports said Edward II was one of these, and that he had been forced to leave the field by Amar de Valence. Others said he had reacted in the same manner as the majority of his army:

"He was abasit sa gretumly
That he and all his cumpany,
Fif hundreth armit wele aricht
Intil a frusch all tuk the flicht". 83

Above all else, the English were untrustworthy, and like Edward I when he accepted the Scots' invitation to help decide their succession, they usually had an ulterior motive when seeming to act in good faith. For instance, they only agreed to a truce near the end of Bruce's reign because they hoped a long period of peace would weaken the Scottish army, leaving the kingdom vulnerable;⁸⁴ Bruce enforced the Scots' part of this bargain faithfully until his death,⁸⁵ whereas the English broke it on all fronts:

"Bot Inglisemen apon these
Distroyit throu gret iniquite
March and schippis that saland war". 86

Eventually, when all their plots and tricks had been foiled, the English sued for peace and gave up all claims to Scotland:

"And monumentis and letteris ser
That tha of Ingland that tym had
That ocht agane Scotland mad
Intill that tretis up tha gaf,
And all the clam that tha nicht haf
In Scotland on ony maner." 87

For Barbour, there was never any question that the English might have ever had any rights in Scotland, and by carefully choosing the period to be covered in his biography, he was able to present a picture of the Scots fighting under their true king against their oppressors. The wars under the guardians both before and after Bruce's reign and the questions raised by Edward Balliol's invasion were carefully avoided. By stopping as he did with the alleged murder of the earl

of Moray, Barbour could close when the Scots were undoubtedly independent, thanks to Bruce and his lieutenants.

. . .

There has been some debate about the name of the author of the Wallace. In 1521, John Major described a Blind Hary who had composed a biography of Wallace;⁸⁸ just over a decade later, William Stewart, in his translation of Boece's Scotorum Historiae, advised his audience to read "blind Hareis buke" where Wallace's youth was dealt with at great length.⁸⁹ Yet it seems that Blind Hary was not definitely associated with the verse which now goes under his name for a century and a half after its composition.⁹⁰ In the introduction to his edition of the Wallace, McDiarmid demonstrated that Blind Hary was indeed its author,⁹¹ and that this name was not just the alias of an unknown poet;⁹² furthermore, it seems that Hary wrote it on his own.⁹³

According to McDiarmid, Hary was a former soldier who had seen action in France;⁹⁴ he concluded from the tone of the Wallace that Hary was not the itinerant minstrel usually imagined but a man of assured position in Scotland after his return from the French wars.⁹⁵ That Hary may have been an established poet by the time he wrote the Wallace was implied by his denial that anyone had hired him to compose the poem; "we note two assumptions that he voices, that he will be known to some of his readers and that these would not be surprised if king or lorde thought him the right person for such an undertaking."⁹⁶ Despite his name, the consensus of opinion is that the descriptions in the poem are too vivid and the references to written works too numerous for the author to have been blind while working.⁹⁷ It seems more likely that Hary went blind after composing the Wallace,⁹⁸ and was given his epithet then.

Unlike Barbour or Bower, Hary never stated the year in which he

was writing, but from internal evidence, it seems that Wallace was completed in 1478.⁹⁹ Although Hary claimed he had not been commissioned by anyone, he did blame two knights for his only confessed lapse from the truth:

"I suld hawe thank, sen I nocht trawaill spard.
For my laubour na man hecht me reward.
Na charge I had off king nor othir lord.

In this sentence I had na will to le.
Bot in als mekill as I rahersit nocht
Sa worthely as nobill Wallace wrocht,
Bot in a poynt I grant I said amys.
Thir twa knychtis suld blamyt be for this:
The knycht Wallas, off Cragge rychtwys lord,
And Liddaill als, gert me mak wrang record.

Till mayster Blayr we did sumpart off dispys." 100

Whether these two knights acted as friends, patrons, or both, this passage "clearly implicates them as willing accessories to the fiction".¹⁰¹ Their alleged source, "the Latin buk Quhilk maister Blayr in his tym wndirtuk",¹⁰² has been dismissed generally as an invention of Hary's, though the more generous critics accept the possibility that such a work may once have been available, but that Hary departed from it.¹⁰³ Hary must have been well educated,¹⁰⁴ and he used a great number of sources which can be traced.¹⁰⁵ Of the Scottish histories, he used Bower and Barbour extensively, along with Wyntoun; indeed, he borrowed so many passages from the Bruce that when the two works are compared, there is little that the king was said to have done which Wallace had not already achieved. Like Wyntoun, Hary could have derived a certain amount of material from popular stories; all extant ballads with Wallace as their subject are ultimately derived from Hary's poem,¹⁰⁶ yet it may be that these same passages were taken from still older ballads.¹⁰⁷ And it is also likely that Sir William Wallace of Craigie, one of the knights who led Hary astray, would have passed on the family traditions about the hero.

The identification of Hary's two associates and possible patrons goes far to explain his political perspectives. Wallace of Craigie's mother was the daughter of James, seventh earl of Douglas, "a fact which would make particularly acceptable Hary's much-quoted tribute to the unequalled glories of that recently forfeited family."¹⁰⁸ Some of Craigie's lands were adjacent to a castle belonging to the other knight named by Hary, Sir James Liddale, an accomplice in the duke of Albany's intrigues¹⁰⁹ for which he was banished in March 1383 and executed in 1385.¹¹⁰ Hary was certainly sympathetic to his friends' political leanings; his verse is filled with warnings against James III's policies, especially regarding England. Hary was an Anglophobe critical of the way the Scottish government was being run, and although he never specifically addressed the king, he was far from reticent, initially stating his case in his introduction:

"Our antecessowris that we suld of reide
 And hald in mynde, thar nobille worthi deid
 We lat ourslide throw werray sleuthfulnes,
 And castis ws euir till vthir besynes.
 Till honour Ennymyis is our haile entent.
 It has beyne seyne in thir tymys bywent,
 Our ald Ennemys cummyn of Saxonys blud,
 That neuyr zeit to Scotland wald do gud
 Bot euir on fors and contrar haile thar will,
 Quhow gret kyndnes thar has beyne kyth thaim till.
 It is weyle knawyne on mony diuers syde,
 How thai haff wrocht in-to thar mychty pryde
 To hald Scotlande at wndyr euirmar,
 Bot god abuff has maid thar mycht to par." 111

Wallace was repeatedly represented as fighting for his kingdom; his crowning achievement was to have freed Scotland three times.¹¹² Circumstances rendered it impossible for Hary to present his hero fighting for his king for most of the poem. Balliol had been "maid a kyng agayn our rychtwys law"¹¹³ and had accepted an overlord against the will of the barons, so there was never any chance of Wallace's having fought for him. Bruce was the "knawin weyll ayr off this

kynrik"¹¹⁴ but he had been beguiled by the English lies that Wallace was a rebel who intended to take the kingdom for himself,¹¹⁵ and so repeatedly refused the guardian's offers of the crown. As Edward Bruce explained to his brother, Wallace had chosen to be faithful:

"Ye suld rawenge his deid,
Bot for your caus he tuk the wer on hand,
In your defens, and thrys has fred Scotland,
The quhilk was tynt fra ws and all our kyn.
War nocht Wallace we had neuir entryt In.
Merour he was off lauta and manheid,
In wer the best that euir sall power leid
Had he likyt for till haiff tane your croun
Wald nane him let that was in this regioun.
Had nocht beyne he, ye suld had na entres
Into this rewlm, for tresoun and falsnes." 116

In this way, Wallace's loyalty to his king had paved the way for Bruce's glorious career; without him, Bruce would not have had a foothold in Scotland. Still, for most of the period when Wallace was "defendour off Scotland"¹¹⁷ Bruce was "contrar his natiff men".¹¹⁸ This predicament meant Hary had to divorce the person of the king from the crown and kingdom to a greater extent than any of the previous authors, since Wallace and the "true Scots" who supported him had to defend their kingdom not only from the English but also from the heir to their crown. They were, therefore, frequently said to have been working for their kingdom's rights and freedom; this was their duty, as Wallace explained when refusing to take the crown for a day:

"He said, 'Fyrst, it war a our hie thing,
Agayne the faith to reyff my rychtwis king.
I am his man, born natiff of Scotland.
To wer the croun I will nocht tak on hand.
To fend the rewmm it is my dett be skill.
Lat God abowe reward me as he will.' " 119

Later, when greatly outnumbered, as usual, by the English, Wallace encouraged his men by declaring:

"Forthi ilk man be off trew hardy will,
And at we do so nobill in-to deid
Off ws be found no lak eftir to reid.
The rycht is ouris, we suld mor ardent be.
I think to freith this land or ellis de." 120

Like Wyntoun, Hary seems to have meant both the land and its inhabitants when he used "Scotland", "land", "kingdom", "region" and "country" in many passages. And since he had to depict the Scots fighting for their kingdom instead of their king, he used "Scotland" as their rallying cry more often than other historians had. The kingdom suffered,¹²¹ was subject to the attacks of the English,¹²² and was happy when freed.¹²³ This use of "Scotland" was not just a necessary expedient brought about by Bruce's recalcitrant behaviour, but also a reflection of Hary's own loyalties; it was for Scotland and not the absent king that Hary mourned when Wallace had finally been captured:

"Allace, Scotland, to quhom sall thow compleyn?
Allace, fra payn qua sall the now restreyn?
Allace, thi help is fastlie brocht to ground.
Thi best chyftane in braith bandis is bound.
Allace, thow has now lost thi gyd off lycht.
Allace, quha sall defend the in thi rycht?" 124

For Hary, to support Wallace was to defend the kingdom, since Wallace was:

"the reskew of Scotland
Quhen it was lost with tresoune and falsnas." 125

He divided the Scots into two factions: true Scots and traitors.

The true Scots were those who supported Wallace and the traitors were those of either nation, and including Bruce, who did not. Unlike his predecessors, Hary was outspoken in his condemnation of Bruce's early career; when Bruce challenged Wallace's having dared face Edward I at Falkirk, the guardian answered:

"Off that fals king I think neuir wage to tak
Bot contrar him with my power to mak.
I cleyrn no thing as be titill off rycht,
Thocht I mycht reiff, sen god has lent me mycht,
Fra the thi crowne off this region to wer,
Bot I will nocht sic a charge on me ber.
Gret god wait best quhat wer I tak on hand
For till kep fre that thow art gaynstandand.
It mycht beyn said off lang gone her off forn,

In cursyt tym thow was for Scotland born.
 Schamys thou nocht that thow neuir yeit did gud,
 Thou renygat deuorar off thi blud?
 I wou to God, ma I thi maister be
 In ony feild, thow sall fer werthar de
 Than sall a Turk, for thi fals cruell wer.
 Pagans till ws dois nocht so mekill der." 126

Far from being repentant, as Bower had said he was when confronted by Wallace with his treason, Bruce just laughed derisively and asked to meet with Wallace again. He hurried, unwashed to his meal in the English camp, and was mocked by his companions, "Behald, yon Scot ettis his awn blud."¹²⁷ Only then did Bruce begin to appreciate Wallace's words and recognized where his duty lay.

Endangering Scottish independence was sufficient grounds for the condemnation of any individual, even the rightful king. Hary wanted his compatriots to put the defence of Scotland before everything else; doing so was always in the best interests of their king, even when, like Bruce, he might mistakenly disagree with their policy. Thus, when Wallace mourned his friend Graham who had died opposing Bruce's English contingent at Falkirk, the greatest compliment Wallace could pay him was that he had been martyred for Scottish independence:

"Thow was gret caus off wynnynng off Scotland,
 Thocht I began and tuk the wer on hand.

Martyr thou art for Scotlandis richt and me.
 I sall the wenge or ellis tharfor to de." 128

By identifying the land with the people, Hary often used Scotland or one of the synonyms for the kingdom, when one of the other authors may have chosen either nation or to have spoken in terms of loyalty to the king. It seems that Hary, like his hero, was loyal to his kingdom first, and was more than willing to support his king as long as the sovereign was committed to defending Scotland, and to defy him when he was misled. In light of this attitude and James III's pro-English policies, Hary's call for the Scots to follow the example of their

ancestors was more a threat to the king and a rationalization of opposition to the crown than an attempt to reform the monarch through constructive criticism.

Although he was preoccupied by kingdoms, Hary did differentiate between groups of people. At various times, he spoke of the "men off But",¹²⁹ along with the "Lennox men"¹³⁰ and the "gud men out off Murray";¹³¹ these three are the closest he ever came to describing the Highlanders. Many of Wallace's adventures, by and large fictitious, were set in the Highlands, and the inhabitants of that area were not made to seem inherently treacherous. Furthermore, it was usually to the Highlands that the true Scots fled when Wallace's journeys abroad left them defenceless against the English. There is a hint of anti-Highlander sentiment in an Englishman's scathing comments on how Wallace should be dressed!¹³²

"Thow Scot, abyde.
Quha dewill the grathis in so gay a gyde?
Ane Ersche mantill it war thi kynd to wer,
A Scottis thewtill undyr thi belt to ber,
Rouch rewlyngis apon thi harlot fete." 133

As Hary never elaborated on this, the reader is not left with the impression that the Highlanders were in any way inferior to the Lowlanders, or that they were not as much Scots as anyone else in the kingdom.

Generally, Hary spoke of only two nations besides the Scots: the French and the English. If Hary was in fact a veteran of the Scots' campaigns in France, then his experience there had left him with mixed feelings for his allies. Most of his comments on the French came in his accounts of Wallace's journeys to France at the invitation of the French king. He was not the first to claim that Wallace had been abroad. In the Book of Cupar, Bower had stated that Wallace had travelled to France, defeating an infamous pirate on the

way, thereby winning renown in both kingdoms; if the king of France had had his way, Wallace would have remained in that kingdom forever, but the Scot's natural affection for his homeland drew him back to Scotland.¹³⁴ As Hary had read some version of Bower's history, it is possible that he borrowed the idea of Wallace's sojourn abroad from the Book of Cupar.

Hary sent Wallace on two journeys to France and had him capture a different pirate on each. As in the Book of Cupar, Wallace was graciously received in the French court and was granted lands in France, only in Hary's poem, the lands assigned to him on his second visit by the French parliament were in territory held by the English. This annoyed the king but pleased his guest who spent this visit as he had the first, fighting the English.

Hary assumed the alliance between Scotland and the "Flour off Realmys"¹³⁵ had been established long before the Wars of Independence. When Wallace was invited to visit, it was "As yhe war born a liege man off France."¹³⁶ Upon his first arrival there, Wallace took the king to task for not having come to the aid of his allies:

"Our barnat land has beyn our-set with wer
With Saxonis blud that dois ws mekill der,
Slayn our elderis, distroyit our rychtwys blud,
Waistyt the Realm off gold and othir gud,
And ye ar her in micht and ryolte.
Ye suld haiff ey till our aduersite,
And ws support throu kindnes off the band
Quhilk is conserwyt betwix yow and Scotland." 137

In the Book of Cupar, Wallace's influence had led to the French king's arranging a truce for the Scots;¹³⁸ in the Wallace, the French never did even that much for their allies to repay all the help the Scots were said to have given them in their war against the English while Wallace was in France. Far from helping, the French king kept secret the letter the desperate Scots had sent Wallace begging him to return

and free them from the English who had, yet again, conquered Scotland. The king wanted Wallace to stay in France, and only surrendered the letter when the Scot, disgusted with the conduct of some of the French courtiers, declared he intended to go home.¹³⁹

Hary's wish to share the credit for Wallace's victories only with other Scots, and his personal estimation of the reliability of the French soldier are both reflected in Wallace's refusal to allow any of the French to join his company.¹⁴⁰ The only exception was the pirate he had defeated then befriended on his first journey to France, Thomas "Longaweile";¹⁴¹ he went to Scotland with Wallace and after the hero's death, joined Bruce's party and, according to Hary, turned up in the Bruce where he was the French knight who followed the Scottish king over the wall at Perth.¹⁴²

By and large, Hary did not seem particularly well disposed towards the French; it was to their credit that they had respected Wallace, but their shirking of their duty as allies did not suit him as it helped undermine Scottish strength against the English. The French were the traditional allies, and this, perhaps, is what kept Hary from speaking out against them more often.

In common with almost all Scottish historians, Hary despised the English, the "auld mortale fa"¹⁴³ "that euir fals has beyne".¹⁴⁴ Wallace could not bear their occupation of Scotland:

"This is fer war than ony payn of hell,
At thus with wrang thir dewillis suld bruk our land". 145

Hary's innumerable statements that the English were invariably false and that there was no band capable of holding them were barbed reminders to those Scots who agreed with James III that it was time to make peace with their southern neighbours. Much to Hary's disgust, it now seemed to be the practice to favour enemies, and the lament,

which followed Hary's account of Wallace's first arrest by the English was as relevant to his contemporaries as it had been at the time of Wallace's imprisonment:

"In Inglismen allace quhi suld we trow,
Our worthy kyn has payned on this wys?
Sic reulle be rycht is litill till allow.
Me think we suld in barrat mak thaim bow
At our power, and so we do feill sys.
Off thar danger god mak ws for to rys,
That weill has wrocht befor thir termys and now,
For thai wyrk ay to wayt ws with supprys." 146

Wallace had understood the best way to deal with the English:

"The Scottis slew all was thar off that nacioun,
Baith pur and rych and serwandys at thai fand,
Left nane on lyff that born was off Ingland." 147

As the hero explained to his uncle:

"I lik bettir to se the Sothron de
Than gold or land that thai can giff to me.
Tractis rycht weyll, of wer I will nocht ces
Quhill tyme that I bryng Scotland in-to pes,
Or de tharfor, in playne to wndyrstand." 148

Even when a prisoner in England, Wallace had no qualms about what he had done:

" 'I grant,' he said, 'part Inglismen I slew,
In my quarrell me thocht nocht halff enew.' " 149

Wallace's opinion was justified by Hary's narrative; throughout it, the English stood for the oppression of the Scots and their kingdom. Hary agreed with Wyntoun, Barbour, and the Book of Pluscarden, the last of which he may not have seen, that the over-riding characteristic of the English was their falseness. They simply could not be trusted either as individuals or as a nation. And no matter what they said, they always liked to take Scotland for themselves. It was this, and not their other faults, which interested Hary; there were no long diatribes about their many sins in the Wallace, just numerous examples of their cruelty as conquerors and of their treachery, all of them evidence against James III's proposed

alliances.

There were a few scattered passages in which Hary spoke well of the skills and judgement of an individual Englishman, inserted for the greater glory of Wallace who was feared and respected by the enemy he inevitably defeated. The reader may be sure that if an English knight was praised for his prowess, Hary's hero was going to kill him in the next battle.

Wallace's strength was so great that he was a threat to "that fals king"¹⁵⁰ Edward I, according to Aymer de Valence who said that Wallace:

"wald wndo king Eduuardis croun
Bot gyff thai mycht throu tresoun put him down."¹⁵¹

Edward was as treacherous as ever and first considered taking over Scotland when invited by the Scots to arbitrate in the dispute over the succession. His plots were later foiled by Wallace who turned the tables on him and accepted the English king's challenge to do battle in England. Edward, however, did not dare face the Scottish champion:

"Awfull Eduuard durst nocht Wallace abid
In playn battaill, for all Ingland so wid.
In London he lay and tuk him till his rest
And brak his vow. Quhilk hald ye for the best?"¹⁵²

Edward I or his family would be punished for what he had done, particularly for his determination to execute Wallace, as Edward was warned by the Archbishop of Canterbury:

"It war mar waill in worschip off thi croun
To kepe sic ane in lyff in thi bandoun,
Than all the land and gud at thow has refyd,
Bot cowatice the ay fra honour defyd.
Thow has thi lyff rongyn in wrangwis deid.
That sall be seyn on the, or on thi seid."¹⁵³

Hary was not hoping for the maintenance of the status quo with the English; he, like Fordun and the Latin historians hoped that the prophecy about the Stone of Destiny would be proved true,

and that someday Margaret's descendants would rule in London.

Edward had deposed Balliol and:

"Than Eduuarde self was callit a Roy full ryk.
 The croune he tuk apon that sammyne stane
 At Gadalos send with his sone fra Spane,
 Quhen Iber Scot fyrst in-till Irland come.
 At Canmor syne king Fergus has it nome,
 Brocht it till Scwne and stapill maid it thar,
 Quhar kingis was cround viii hundyr yer and mar
 Befor the tyme at king Eduuard it fand.
 This Iowell he gert turs in-till Ingland,
 In Iwnd it sett til witnes of this thing,
 Be conquest than of Scotland cald hym king.
 Quhar that stayne is Scottis suld mastir be.
 God ches the tyme Margretis ayr till see!" 154

Hary attempted to quell any fears his audience may have harboured that Wallace's life may not be the best exemplar for all Scots by emphasizing the divine help the champion had received. This may, in part, be another idea borrowed from the Book of Cupar where Bower claimed he had heard reliable reports of a vision in which Wallace had been seen to receive his sword from St. Andrew for the defence of the kingdom.¹⁵⁵ In Hary's poem, it was Wallace himself who had the vision in which he was visited first by St. Andrew who gave him a sword and then by a shimmering queen who gave him a rod and book, and assured him he would be rewarded in Heaven:

"Welcum," scho said. "I cheis the as my luff.
 Thow art grantyt be the gret god abuff
 Till help pepill that sufferis mekill wrang.
 . . .
 Thi derrast kyne ar her in mekill payne.
 This rycht regioun thou mon redeme it all.
 Thi last reward in erd sall be bot small.
 Let nocht tharfor tak redres off this mys,
 To thi reward thou sall haiff lestand blys."¹⁵⁶

Furthermore, God watched and protected Wallace throughout his war with the English and brought him straight to Heaven upon his death. Hary's proof of this was the testimony of an English monk who was visited by the spirit of a companion who had recently died; this spirit told the monk he was waiting for the arrival of the two

spirits who were to precede him to Heaven, the one a priest and the other Wallace. The monk could not believe that Wallace could be saved:

"Brodyr," he said, "that taill is bot in wayn,
For slauchter is to god abhominabill."
Than said the spreyt, "Forsuth this is no fabill.
He is Wallace, defendour off Scotland,
For rychtwys wer that he tuk apon hand.
That rychtwysnes is lowyt our lawe,
Tharfor in hewyn he sall that honour hawe."¹⁵⁷

In return, Wallace was a devout Catholic who carried a psalter at all times and killed priests only when necessary. Unlike Bruce, on one occasion Wallace had enough self-control not to kill an enemy who had entered the church in which he was hearing mass;¹⁵⁸ he was, however, said to have burned another church down along with its occupants. Just before his betrayal to the English, Wallace had contemplated going into the church now that Bruce had finally agreed to take the crown:

"He pupost than to serue god and the kyrk
And for to leyffwndyr hys rychtwys king.
That he desyryt atour all erdly thing."¹⁵⁹

He was executed before he could put his plan into effect, but:

"Scotland may thank the blyssyt, happy tym
At he was born, be prynsual poyntis two.
This is the fyrst, or that we forthyr go,
Scotland he fred and brocht it off thrillage;
And now in hewin he has his heretage,
As It prewyte be gud experians."¹⁶⁰

Hary was writing for a Scottish audience, probably drawn from the same class for whom Wyntoun had compiled his chronicle.¹⁶¹ His work was his contribution to the political debates of the day. He was fiercely proud of his kingdom and the Scots' achievements, but the nature of his argument was such that Hary had to concentrate on Scotland's independence and the Scottish triumphs against the "fals enemys"¹⁶² to the south, and in his "uncouth but forceful strain summed up popular prejudice in Scotland and helped to sustain it for centuries to come."¹⁶³

"Dico ergo omnes in Britannia natos Britannos"
-Major

John Major:
Historia Maioris Britanniae

At the time it was published, John Major's Historia Mairis Britanniae tam Angliae quam Scotiae¹ was a radical break with traditional Scottish historical writing, not so much because of the material that was presented, but because of the perspective of the author. Most of Major's conclusions were markedly different from those reached by his predecessors.

Major, or Mair,² had begun writing his history by 1518, and perhaps did not finish until after 1520,³ probably returning to Paris with the manuscript to have it and two other works published in 1521.⁴ From references which have been gleaned to earlier histories, it seems that he had begun reading historical works at least ten years before he wrote the Historia.⁵ His plans for the Historia were somewhat contradictory, as he wished both to recount the glorious deeds of kings and princes⁶ and to concentrate more on the devout than the warlike.⁷ As he dedicated his new book to James V, he decided to stop short of this reign to avoid being charged with flattery.⁸

Major considered it his privilege as a theologian to define religion and morals, so he was able to explain both what had happened and whether or not it had been right; in that way, James could learn, as if from his own experience, whether or not individuals had been just:

"id vero in omnibus praesertim ambiguis maximo studio duxi ascribendum, ut ex huiusce historiae lectione non solum quid gestum sit, sed etiam quomodo gerendum sit perspicias, idque tantilla lectione calleas quod tot seculorum experientia si ea vivere datum fuisset, vix agnoscas."⁹

He searched for an explanation for every event he recorded, even the flood at Perth,¹⁰ and sometimes went to great lengths to turn an entry into a lesson. Occasionally, he was hampered by the lack of available information. For example, he was surprised that his

source contained no background to the arrests in 1431 of Archibald, earl of Douglas, and John Kennedy or to the executions of the Albany Stewarts; without this information, he complained, he was unable to decide if James I had acted properly:

"miror quare annales non referunt causas tam Steuartorum occisorum quam istorum incarcerationum, ut videatur an iuste et cum libramine viros carceribus manciparit, an pro rebus minutis ad arbitrium principes viros sic tractauerit."¹¹

Major composed the Historia for the benefit of his compatriots, and looking over his many criticisms, it seems that they, and their policies, were in much need of reform. But he also expected his history to reach the same European audience as his other works, as indicated by some of his remarks. For instance, in his cosmography, he compared British and European cities and rivers; later he explained in general terms, what a clan was,¹² and that four English pence were the equivalent of three sous of Tours.¹³ As the Historia was printed in Paris, it is likely that Major meant to reach his usual university audience, as well as his king.

. . .

Fordun had not used the term major Britannia, and went to great lengths to prove that the name Britain applied only to the Britons' territory in the southern part of the island. As in other cases, Wyntoun did not follow Fordun's lead; he seems to have become somewhat muddled when distinguishing between Albion and Britain, and later described the Lady Devorgilla as the best woman "In all the yle off Mare Bretane".¹⁴ At the council of Constance, the English had said that England, Scotland and Ireland, along with smaller territories, made up Great Britain;¹⁵ the term "Great Britain" had also been used in the negotiations for the marriage of James IV.¹⁶ So Major was not breaking entirely new ground when he dismissed Fordun's definition of Britain out of hand and chose to study the

history of "Greater Britain". In the Historia, Albion and Britain were synonymous: "Britannian Insulam Albionem maiores dixere".¹⁷

Major went one step further than those authors who had accepted that there may have been a tenuous link between all the inhabitants of the island by declaring that either the name Briton applied only to the ancient British or to all the inhabitants of the island of Britain. Major decided in favour of the latter:

"Dico ergo omnes in Britannia natos Britannos: quia per oppositum ab aliis omnibus Britanni segregati non essent. cum de Anglia ad Valliam et de Scotia per Angliam ad Valliam pede sico transire posses, gentium non esset discretio."¹⁸

Since it was unnatural to divide the British people, he decided to write about British history and, whenever possible, set his entries in a British context. He described the whole island in his cosmography, and declared that London was "totius Britanniae urbium maxima et optime sita".¹⁹ Similarly, throughout the Historia, he referred to a variety of "British" customs, usually giving his opinion on the relative value of each, such as the British Christmas celebrations which he abhorred.²⁰

As already mentioned, Major intended, in part, to concentrate on kings and princes in his Historia, and no doubt he wished to instruct his young sovereign in the proper government of a realm, for the narrative is punctuated by passages of political theory. Major has been described as decidedly democratic in his conception of the state²¹ because of his notions about the basis of the king's power, but he was, unquestionably, no supporter of popular democracy in the modern sense. Major told James V that the Scots owed everything to the king and his ancestors: "Quocirca cum omnia tuae maiorumque tuorum celsitudini debeamus".²² The kingdom was dependent upon its sovereign, as Walter Comyn had made clear during the debate over Alexander III's installation as king; Comyn persuaded

them to crown the prince the next day because a kingless state was like a rudderless ship:

*"quia corpus sine capite in politica regali mitat, sicut in fluctu navis posita sine remige."*²³

Attacks upon the king endangered the realm, so Major approved wholeheartedly the punishments meted out to those who had sinned against the state by murdering James I:

*"Has poenas fateor graves, sed scelus erat gravissimum: quoniam in totam rempublicam peccavunt: eius caput regno dignissimum perimentes."*²⁴

Major used the dependence of the kingdom upon the king as the foremost criterion against which to judge the activities of a number of monarchs. Therefore, he condemned Alexander I for having attacked a defiant rebel band accompanied only by his standard bearer. Such a deed was not brave, it was foolhardy, for it jeopardized the stability of the kingdom which had only recently been shattered by the loss of Malcolm III and the ensuing civil war. Major, also, lashed out at the army for not keeping up with Alexander:

*"In hoc regem reprehendo: ... veri regis defectu non multo antea politia quassabatur. ergo illius reminisci rex debebat: et exercitum non probo qui regem in magna quantitate non praecessit."*²⁵

The king was a public person who had been given his power by those he ruled for the common good,²⁶ and upon whom the peace of the kingdom depended. Consequently, he was not free to expose himself to attack without first having received the express or implicit consent of his people; the fall of its king was a disaster for a kingdom.²⁷ Likewise, a king should not put his own preferences before his concern for maintaining the stability of the kingdom, so Major, unlike his predecessors, did not praise Malcolm IV's chastity; he numbered the king amongst the foolish virgins because his insistence upon remaining unmarried could have brought the state to civil war had he not had adult brothers to succeed him.²⁸

From Major's perspective, there seems to have been little chance that the monarchy could have been replaced successfully by any other form of government; the king was the lynchpin of Scottish society. Several new elements entered Major's political discussions, however; in particular, he pinpointed the sources of the king's power which, in turn, diminished the aura which had surrounded the office in some of the earlier histories.

Major's most complete discussion of the source of the sovereign's power came in his proof of Bruce's right to the Scottish crown. The first king of every nation had received his power from his people, just as Fergus had:

"Populus liber primo regi dat robur, cuius potestas a toto populo dependet: quia aliud ius Fergusius primus rex Scotiae non habuit: et ita est ubilibet et ab orbe condito erat communiter."²⁹

The people could also remove him from office even if he were a true king, especially if the realm had been invaded and the incumbent had proved unable to defend it,³⁰ or if he had corrupted the government and wasted its resources.³¹ Thus, it was the duty of the people, and particularly of the ecclesiastics and nobles who acted for the lower classes, to decide after any dubious incident whether or not the king should be allowed to remain in office:

"sed a populo et potissimum primoribus et nobilibus qui plebis vices gerunt, reges instituuntur: ergo ad principes praelatos et nobiles spectat casum ambiguum circa regem incidentem interpretari".³²

The consent of the magnates, acting as the representatives of the people, had been an essential factor in determining Bruce's right, Major did not even pause over Bruce's claim, by nearness of degree, and instead he claimed that totus populus in Robertum Bruseum consensit³³ but their choice had been over-ruled by Edward I. Even so, Balliol and the rest of the nobility should have

ensured that the corpus mysticum of which they were all members was protected; this could not be done except by removing Balliol, thereby allowing Bruce to rule:

"Debebant velle illud quo corpus mysticum cuius erant partes maneret incolume, et in bona dispositione: et hoc commode fieri non poterat, nisi per Ioannis Balioli electionem: et regimen regale Roberti Brusei. ergo."³⁴

Finally, since it was the right of the magnates, as representatives of the people, to depose a king and install a replacement, Bruce's title to the crown was inviolable because he was their choice.³⁵

Bruce's right, it seems, was not dependent so much on his inheritance as on the consent of the representatives of the people and on his success against the pro-Balliol faction and the English. This idea had already been expressed in the Declaration of Arbroath, in which two of the three criteria used to justify Bruce's claim had been his right to succeed and the consent and assent of his subjects. The third criterion, "divine providence" which had been crucial in the Declaration did not enter Major's proof.

The withdrawal of their support by the nobility had been crucial in bringing about Wallace's downfall; the magnates had been jealous of a man who had been able to rule for some time without their co-operation.³⁶ Major suspected they had invited Edward I to invade Scotland because they feared Wallace aspired to the crown and preferred to have the English monarch for their king.³⁷ Later, Bruce had won the magnates' support to his claim for the throne, and this, along with his outstanding personal qualities, was the basis for his success.

Major spoke in general terms about the necessity of getting the consent of the estates, or of the magnates, for the proper government of the kingdom. The tres status represented the state in parliament just as the members of a council did the church,³⁸ and Major expected

the king to take their advice. This seems to have been particularly true for financial transactions, including the forfeiture of other magnates.³⁹ John of England was condemned for having diverted the funds collected for the church into other projects without first consulting procerum sui regni.⁴⁰ Later, Major criticized the Scottish Governor, the Duke of Albany, for having disobeyed the express wish of the estates who had ordered that a tax be collected; whatever the Governor's personal preferences, the community had precedence over both him and the king:

"In primus contra gubernatoris modum procedendi, Argumentor sic. Super eum erat communitas immo super Regem, supposito quam tres status fuerint illic legitime collecti: ergo male egit eorum statuto spreto suam voluntatem preferendo."⁴¹

He assumed that the estates should control the king's use of his own property and recommended that they pass a law forbidding the alienation of royal lands:

"Hic dicere ausum quod legem regni tres status sancire deberent ut regi nullas terras regias alicui sine trium statuum consensu liceat imperpetuum dare, et a fisco regio alienare, et si prodige alienaverint terras illas proximas rex cum fructibus recuperet. Huic legi rex consentire debet."⁴²

It was also the magnates' duty to help defend the kingdom.

Major seems to have been taken aback by the report he had found stating James I had once boasted to his queen that he meant to ruin all the magnates; James would not have been able to protect the kingdom without them, so Major refused to believe it:

"At licet memoriter nostri, prout multa vera exempla annales haec referant, nunquam tamen talia somniavit. Nam sine nobilibus regum ab hostibus tueri non poterat, et nobilium multos unice dilexit."⁴³

Major used the same criteria in judging both Bruce and Wallace; nowhere does any kind of veneration of the monarch affect his judgement. When he first compared the two, Major seemed loath to give Wallace second place. He allowed himself to claim both that Wallace did not have an equal in his own day, and that Bruce had surpassed

Wallace's military glory, by pointing out that they had not been contemporaries.⁴⁴ Later, Major admitted that while Wallace had been stronger, physically, and was, therefore, a better fighter, Bruce had been a military genius and, therefore, surpassed his predecessor. Furthermore, due to the defeats he suffered at the start of his reign, Bruce had lost many of the advantages his birth had brought him and this put him on an equal footing with Wallace:

"Rex maximo regno dignus quem Guillelmo Vallaceo in re militari praepono. et si Roberto Guillelmus Vallaceus maiori corpore et robustiore fuerit. Sic enim Alexandro Macedone (ut opinor) robustior erat: sed non propterea in re militari excellentiam super eum habuit. Verum Guillelmus in hos efferendus est quod suo Marte et prudentia, qui de parva domo natus erat in magnum virum evasit: a Scotia Anglos expulerit, et in hoc non minorem Robertum Bruseum inveniens, licet de principe domo natus esset et consanguineos affinesque principes viros haberet: post enim triste principium, omnibus suis amissis, etiam amicis destitutus est: qui tamen semper invicto mansit animo: et Scotos Angli sequaces et principes viros Angliae de Scotia eiecit: et bis cum Anglo difficilimis et formidandis praeliis congressus est: semel in Scotia semelque in Anglia: et toties Anglum vicit." ⁴⁵

Corresponding to this lack of veneration of the king, there was a greater distinction in the Historia between the king and his kingdom. In the rare passages in which Major defended waging war, he did not usually speak of fighting for the king; by and large, he called for the defence of the regnum, patria, or respublica.

For all that Major used gens fairly frequently, he identified groups of people, individuals and events by the kingdom to which they belonged rather than by their nation; thus, the crown was the regni diadema,⁴⁶ the magnates were the regni procerum,⁴⁷ and Malcolm Canmore's feigned weaknesses were regno quolibet indignum.⁴⁸ James Douglas was described as a man devoted to maintaining the tranquillity of the realm: "viri constantia et ad regni tranquillitatem pia effecto cognita erat."⁴⁹ This was every subject's duty, and Major denounced the earl of March when he carried out his threat that Scotland would pay for the

jilting of his daughter by the Duke of Rothesay. As far as Major was concerned, the king had not acted properly, but this did not excuse the earl's crime:

"Nec comitem Marchiae a peccato excuso: immo iniquissime egit: vim suo regno pro iniuria illata inferendo."⁵⁰

The kingdom was each subject's homeland; when the Pictish king was encouraging his men to stand against Kenneth mac Alpin, he reminded them that the Scot wanted to take nostram patriam et regnum.⁵¹ Again, in Major's discussion of the fall of the earls of March, he declared that their fate was a warning not to invade the homeland:

"licet a Regibus suis iniuriam patientur aequanimiter ferant, aut per patientiam dissimulant, et in patriam non hostiliter insurgant."⁵²

Patria seems to have encompassed both the inhabitants of the kingdom and the land itself; Major discussed the accusation that the Scots were bent on ennobling their totam patriam,⁵³ and later described how Thomas Randolph was declared publice voce omnes patriae patrem.⁵⁴ This association of the people and land accounts for its emotive strength. Major chose patria when explaining the causes of wars; for instance, the kings of the Picts and Scots refused Caesar's terms for peace by declaring they would give their lives for their homeland's liberty.⁵⁵ Similarly, Major did not approve of priests doubling as soldiers, except in the defence of their homeland and of their own persons.⁵⁶ Major repeated Hary's story of Wallace's quick entry into Heaven after having died pro patriae libertate;⁵⁷ likewise, Bruce declared that those gathered at Bannockburn were fighting for their homeland:

"Pro fortunis, pro liberis, pro coniungibus, pro vita, pro patriae libertate, pro penatibus et his omnibus, quae mortalibus esse curae et chara solent certamus."⁵⁸

And Major reported that when Seton, the keeper of Berwick, and his wife, were unmoved as Edward III hanged their son, they had put the

best interests of their town and the liberty of their homeland before the life of their heir.⁵⁹ Patria, then, seems to have been his emotive synonym of regnum.

Like Maurice Buchanan in the Book of Pluscarden, Major demanded loyalty to the res publica, meaning the state, the common good, or more frequently, both, depending on the context. A lack of regard for the res publica was as despicable as disloyalty to either the king or kingdom; in the odd instances when Major spoke out against acts of treason which had not been committed against the king, they were usually against the res publica. In either circumstance, regardless of the victim of the crime, it was always the res publica which suffered, as for example, when Constantine the Bald stole the crown from the true heir:

"Hoc magnae divisiones apud Scotos erat initium: gratia cuius vix unquam respublica Scotica magis nutabat."⁶⁰

Major did not usually speak of fighting for the state or the commonwealth, although soldiers were said to serve the rem publicam.⁶¹

More often, Major seems to have thought in terms of the characters who entered his narrative, and the policies they followed, as having been either helpful, or more commonly, harmful to it. Thus, it was to the rei publicae vtilitate et pace⁶² for the king to exile those who opposed his rule; conversely, the king sinned against the commonwealth when he did not punish those magnates who rebelled within the state.⁶³ According to Major, every individual was expected, by and large, to defend his kingdom or homeland; he had also always to consider the welfare of his res publica, and would be judged accordingly.

As already mentioned, Major has been hailed for his democratic opinions, but while he was clearly no believer in absolute monarchy, he did not favour anything resembling government by the people

either. Any attack upon the king was treason, and Major viewed every popular rising as just such an attack. There is no doubt that the Historia displayed a "sympathy for ordinary folk."⁶⁴ Major heartily approved of the grants of reliefs made by the nobility to Malcolm II which spared the commons from having to support their king. The settlement made by the English king, John, with the pope to end the interdict in which he agreed to pay Rome an annual tribute annoyed Major; as he pointed out, it was not John but the commons who, in the end, had to pay for the king's sin which had brought the ban down on England in the first place.⁶⁵ And early in the Historia, Major mused over why it was that portents were sent only to princes and not their subjects:

"Sed quidquid philosophi dicant naturalem causam super hoc non capio quare citius regnum quam subditorum mortem portendat." 66

All traces of this sympathy disappeared when Major turned his attention to the popular risings in England. He could not condone all Richard II's policies, but he detested the course the English had chosen. Rebellion was a plague once it entered the state:

"Sed procerum et plebis levitatem non approbo: inimo vehementer detestor. Reges in ita levi causa exauthorare et deponere, est principibus futuris cornua ad seditionem in rempublicam aperire: quae tanquam atrox labes et ruina pestifera in republica fugienda est." 67

There was nothing less productive than a conspiracy and period of rule by the commons; they changed everything without reason and condemned men without cause.⁶⁸ Therefore, Major praised the punishment meted out to Jack Straw and his followers, and the spirit shown by the citizens of London in resisting this rebellion; the rebels deserved everything they suffered.⁶⁹ Likewise, he praised Henry VI's severity when sentencing those of the commons who had taken part in a rebellion in Kent; their punishment would deter others from taking

up rebellion lightly:

"hunc Regis zelum erga iustitiam, plebem indomitam
compescentis et graviter punientis: ne in posterum
tumultuarie leviter insurgat, approbo: quia saepe
facilitas venia et causa peccandi." 70

This stance seems, at first, rather paradoxical when compared to his theory of the right of the people to remove a king, except Major maintained that this right was always conditional. The case of Bruce's right superseding Balliol's seems to have been the only instance when Major acknowledged his theory could be put into practice. Furthermore, although theoretically the right of deposition belonged to all the people, Major seems to have expected the magnates to take the lead in these situations.⁷¹ From the evidence in the Historia at least, Major considered the king the cornerstone of the kingdom; peace within the realm depended upon obedience to him. His personal power was now limited in practice by the legitimate demands of the magnates to take part in the government, and in theory, by the idea that he had been installed as king by the people for the common good. For their part, the subject's loyalty was no longer centred entirely on the king as it had been in Fordun's Chronica; it was now split somewhat between obedience to the king and concern for the rem publicam. To Major, these two duties were more or less complementary rather than conflicting.

. . .

Major created quite an uproar in his time by not endorsing Fordun's elaborate origin myth. In the course of his survey of the Scots early history, he discounted the stories about Gathelos, Scota, and Simon Brech; these figments had been invented, he said, by the Scots because their English enemies had claimed descent from the Trojans. The Scots had begun by taking the victorious Greeks as their

ancestors, then improved the story by adding the Egyptian element; since all the histories and linguistic studies showed that the Irish had come from Spain, the Scots had had to pretend that the Greek and Egyptian band had stopped in that country. The resulting story was, therefore, a mixture of truth and falsehood.⁷² The only elements of it in which Major had any faith were that the Irish had come originally from Spain, and that the Scots had come from Ireland.⁷³

Scottish claims to having settled in northern Britain before the Picts were also set aside in the *Historia*. According to Major, the Britons had been the first to arrive on the island, followed by the Picts, then the Scots.⁷⁴ The Picts had been driven from Scythia to Ireland where the Scots gave them wives and sent them on to Britain.⁷⁵ Major ignored Fordun's statement that some Scots had already begun to settle there. Instead, he took up Fordun's account when the Scots were said to have migrated in order to be nearer the women they had given the Picts.⁷⁶

Major also repeated Fordun's description of the arrival of the first Fergus, the son of Feredach, along with his story of the start of hostilities between the Scots and Picts due to a dispute over a hound and the exile of the Scots which was the eventual outcome of this war.⁷⁷ Major noted that when the Scots were able to return to Britain, the Picts kept possession of the better parts of the kingdom, either because they had settled the country first or because they had a superior army.⁷⁸ Again drawing from the *Chronica*, Major reported that the Scottish king, Dungal, claimed to be the heir to the Pictish throne; later, this claim was taken up by Alpin and his son, Kenneth. Major had his reservations about whether the Scottish takeover of the Picts' lands had been just and denounced the inhumanity shown in the slaughter of Pictish priests, women and children.⁷⁹ Then he contradicted

himself by declaring that Kenneth had overshadowed all who had gone before him and that the Scots had been just in retaining control of the conquered lands.⁸⁰

Major's treatment of the origin myth typifies his handling of his sources and his effort to counter the spurious English and Scottish material which only served to perpetuate the hostility between the two nations he desperately wanted to see at peace. For many years, the Scottish and English commons had been accustomed to inventing anecdotes like the story of William Bannister's vision of Edward I being dragged to Hell by demons. Love and hate alike make people blind, but everyone, and especially priests, should try to rid themselves of this prejudice. According to Major, if they did not, they were not to be trusted.⁸¹ What is more, in the Historia, he practised what he preached and announced he would avoid all these fables, both English and Scottish, because he felt a man of sense should think for himself without inordinate love of his own nation or hatred of his enemy. He should weigh both sides equally and regulate his opinion with reason:

"Ego autem nec Scotis vulgaribus in Anglorum nec ediverso Anglis in Scotorum vituperatione fidem praestare soleo. Oculati viri est suorum inordinatum amorem et hostium odium a se abolere, et postea sententiam aequa lance trutinatam ferre: et temperamentum in ratione fundatum tenere, et ipsum illud sententiam moderari." 82

Major frequently paused to disprove these malicious stories. He scoffed at the legend of the Plantagenets' descent from a devil,⁸³ a story much beloved of Scottish historians. Major's source for many of the English anecdotes about the Scots was Caxton's edition of Higden's Polychronicon in an English translation which Major seems to have believed was by Caxton himself and which he despised.⁸⁴ Typically, he concluded that Caxton's disparaging remarks about William Wallace were not only improbable but incomprehensible.⁸⁵ He

refused to believe Caxton's assertion that James Douglas had resorted to bribing Mortimer during the Weardale campaign;⁸⁶ Douglas had used iron, not gold.⁸⁷ Major's attitude to this English publication was epitomized by his patronizing note that Caxton was an unlettered man and, therefore, he had reproduced what was commonly said by the English about their Scottish enemies.⁸⁸

In this manner, Major set aside many of the stories cherished by the Scots about themselves and their neighbours, while admitting the failures of his nation and its kings which previous authors had passed over. Twice he broke off to ponder how the Scots had lost the lands they had conquered in England and Ireland.⁸⁹ In the case of the Irish territory, he suggested they had been lost either through negligence or the imposition of too high a tribute,⁹⁰ neither of which reflected well on the astuteness of the conquerors. He also bemoaned the Scots' cruelty, first when they had slaughtered the Picts, and later during the war with Edward Balliol when one band of Scots killed their English captives upon discovering the death of their own commander.⁹¹ And for some reason left unsaid, Major concluded that James I had been safer as a captive in England than he would have been in Scotland, "cum Anglis securior videbatur esse quo ad vitam quam cum propriis."⁹²

In addition, Major incorporated a number of the adverse comments about the Scots which can be found in the other histories. For instance, in a rare emotional outburst, Major wondered what had become of the men who had been all but invincible under Bruce and his lieutenants:

"Proh dolor ubi Thomas Ranulphus, ubi Jacobi Douglassseus: ut stirpi Roberti Brusei in hoc calamitate succurrant? Iidem pugnatores qui cum Roberto Bruseo et Thoma Ranulpho semper vincere consueverant superstites: sed sine claro duce fuerunt: et ideo in bello pauca admodum memoratu digna fecere." 93

Despite these, and numerous remarks in the same vein, Major's pride in his nation's achievements is very much in evidence, and the picture of the Scots presented in the Historia was a favourable one overall. Major never interrupted his narrative to single out any particular virtue native to the Scottish nation, although occasionally he digressed in order to explain, and disprove, the opinions held by foreigners about the Scots. One charge he insisted was not applicable to contemporary Scots, and which could not be held as a stain on their character even if it were shown to have been true in the past, was that the Scots ate human flesh.⁹⁴ According to Major, the author who made this statement seems to have meant the Irish and savage Scots.⁹⁵

There was a French saying, he reported, that a man was as proud as a Scot, while various writers had alluded to Scottish pride and jealousy. While Major admitted that some Scots did suffer from this fault, he was not willing to concede that as a nation they were worse in this respect than their neighbours. After explaining the circumstances under which this opinion had developed, he agreed that all Britons were high spirited, as were the Germans, Spanish and French.⁹⁶ A greater number of authors had criticized the Scots for pretending to be nobles, a tendency about which Major found still another French proverb. This fault was one Major conceded, to a degree, and confessed he enjoyed baiting those of his compatriots who cherished pretensions to aristocratic origins. Then he turned to the nature of true nobility and the rise and fall of aristocratic families, and finished, once again, by denying that the Scots were more prone to lying about their aristocratic ancestors than were other nations.⁹⁷

Major also sought to defend the reputation of his king's family against a popular Scottish adage that the Stewart kings were like Mar

horses, good while young and bad when old. Major considered this easily confuted by a survey of the reigns of the Stewarts. The first four Stewarts had done as well in old age as they had when young, although James IV had been, in some ways, inferior to James II. As for James III, there were plenty of kings who had done worse. To their credit, the Stewarts had ruled Scotland in peace and had maintained the kingdom they had inherited from the Bruces.⁹⁸

These discussions of foreign and domestic sayings about the Scots show the same open-mindedness as Major's rejection of the malicious stories about the Scots and English. He was not, however, completely without prejudices. Major's Historia was very much a history of lowland Scotland; his mental picture of Scotland is indicated by his remark that Dunfermline was, more or less, at the centre of the kingdom.⁹⁹ He reported very little of what had gone on in the Highlands and said next to nothing positive about their inhabitants. He never doubted that the Highlanders were Scots; there was no allusion to foreign ancestry as there had been in Wyntoun's verse. Major explained that while it was the Scottish practice to call the two groups Highlanders and Lowlander, foreigners described them as wild and domestic Scots,¹⁰⁰ and he decided to follow the foreign practice throughout the Historia. Everything about the Highland way of life, including their language, a form of broken Irish,¹⁰¹ was less civilized than that of the Lowlands. Like Fordun, Major digressed to compare the two cultures, and once again, the Highlanders and islanders fared rather badly. Their customs were inferior to those of the domestic Scots, and they were more bellicose because they had been born further north in the mountains and woods:

"In veste, cultu et moribus, reliquis puta domesticis minus honesti sunt, non tamen minus ad bellum praecipites, sed multo magis: tum quia magis boreales: tum quia in montibus nati et sylvicolae pugnatores suapte natura sunt." 102

Worse still, the Highlanders hated Major's half of the nation, the civilized Scots:

"Nostros domesticos aut domitos seu mansuetos, hoc est sub rationis habena et clementer viventes, propter linguam non minus quam Anglos odio prosequuntur." 103

So although they were a warlike people, the Highlanders were seldom brought south to join the Scottish armies¹⁰⁴ against the English. They had joined Bruce at Bannockburn, yet even here Major's prejudice was such that he claimed they had held their lives so cheap they followed each other like sheep to the slaughter, happy as long as they could kill their opponent before dying themselves.¹⁰⁵

Throughout the Historia, Major emphasized their love of war. Those Highlanders with livestock of their own tended to be more willing to obey the king in order to protect their property. The rest lived off the industry of others, and because of their many feuds, they were more accustomed to war than peace.¹⁰⁶ These were called caterans: "Cateranos dicimus omnium sylvicularum indomittisimos."¹⁰⁷

Almost the only good thing Major could find to say about "mediocre" David II was that he had found an expedient to control the savage Scots. Taking their customs into consideration, he had encouraged their mutual slaughter by exacerbating existing feuds and contriving new ones. Major rationalized his approval of this policy by pointing out that they had all earned their deaths by their many crimes, and that this had been the only way the king could find to check their rebellion.¹⁰⁸ James I had chosen a more direct method when he imprisoned a great number of chiefs while in Inverness. Major praised the king for executing justice on all these men who, though low-born, were held as princes in their own lands and acted as they wished without regard for reason:

"Multum Regis animum ad iustitiam et animositatem laudo.
Ultra septuaginta vel octaginta millia virorum hi viri

ignobiles ad sua imperia acquiescentia habebant: et in locis suis particularibus tanquam principes habita sunt: omnia pro arbitrio ratione neglecta facientes." 109

These men simply had no conception of how to live in peace.¹¹⁰

Major described the operation of a clan briefly, and obviously did not think too highly of it, for elsewhere he explained that the Lowlanders had control of the government because they understood how to rule better, or at least less badly, than the rest:

"Penes tamen domitos est totius regni pondus et regimen, quia melius vel minus male quam alii politizant." 111

Thanks to their proclivity for war and hatred of the Lowlanders, Major considered the Highlanders a danger to the kingdom. He repeated the advice ascribed to Bruce recommending that the islands be annexed to the crown twice, and explained that in his own time James III had deprived the Lord of the Isles because of the contempt he had shown towards the king.¹¹³

This preoccupation with imposing peace on the combative Highlanders was perhaps a reflection of his concern for the kingdom's well-being. The Highlanders ignored their duty to care for the commonweal; for instance, Major was certain that no battle had been as harmful as Harlaw, although he was unsure about its outcome, for it was commonly believed the Highlanders won while the annals were unanimous in stating they had not.¹¹⁴ None of the royal schemes had been able to produce permanent peace within the kingdom. In Major's lifetime, the lords of the Isles, who "had frequently flouted the authority of the crown in the past, more or less with impunity",¹¹⁵ despite a period of weakness, had continued to defy the crown. Only after the death of Donald of Lochalsh could the agents of the central government maintain stability to any degree in the Highlands.¹¹⁶ But Major did not despair; after all, if some wild birds could be trained, then

men endowed with reason should be able to be tamed.¹¹⁷

Major does not seem to have been overly concerned with the picture his multifarious comments and criticisms of the Scots, Highlanders and Lowlanders, presented to the European audience for whom the Historia was, in part, intended. He must have considered his history the most opportune platform from which to express his many and varied suggestions for the reformation of the Scots, their society, the government, and particularly, their foreign policy. Most of the narrative was a credit to their reputation, but Major wanted to reform his nation, not present the best possible picture of them and their king to the rest of Europe.

. . .

Major tried to divide his work evenly between the two kingdoms of Great Britain, and although he was not entirely successful in this, he was fairer in his treatment of the English than any of his predecessors, including the well-intentioned Wyntoun. While there were still numerous entries which reflected poorly on the English character, Major was willing to give all of them the benefit of the doubt, even Edward I.¹¹⁸

According to Major, the English excelled in some of the arts; they were the outstanding musicians of Europe¹¹⁹ and their bells, found in almost every town, produced beautiful music.¹²⁰ London, the best city in Britain,¹²¹ could be compared favourably with Paris. Furthermore, Major had nothing but praise for the two English universities and the scholars they produced,¹²² while he was somewhat more reserved in his estimation of the Scottish establishments. He also admired the organization of the church in England and thought it superior to that found in Scotland.¹²³

On the other hand, Major indulged in a little sarcasm about

the English nation's high estimation of itself.¹²⁴ Most of his criticisms dwelt on a single fault; he was astonished by their fickle loyalty to their kings.¹²⁵ He explained that Henry, the earl of Richmond, had gathered many followers in his bid for the throne with ease because the English always welcomed the chance to change their king.¹²⁶ Turning from the nation to its kings, both Henry II and John were denounced for their misdeeds, as was Edward I for encouraging civil war in Scotland.¹²⁷ Similarly, his grandson Edward was blamed for having taken up Edward Balliol's cause in order to destroy the Scots. The English king had not believed Balliol truly had a right to Scotland, he just considered David Bruce too strong to be a puppet.¹²⁸

Major consistently argued against English claims to sovereignty over Scotland. Though the English had conquered other lands, they had as yet made no headway in Scotland except when helped by Scottish civil war:

"licet in hominum multitudine, in terrae fertilitate, in opibus, in politia, Scotos Angli anteeant, Anglis tamen se posse resistere, licet exterorum centum millia pugnatorum secum adducerent, Scoti sive vere sive errone suspiciantur. Et non frivole ita existamant. Cum enim Aquitaniam, Andegaviam, Normaniam, Hiberniam, Valliamque Angli haberent, adhuc sine bellis in Scotia civilibus nihil in ea profecerunt".¹²⁹

Caxton's claim that the Scots had been subjects of the English since the days of Brutus and his son, Albanactus, was unfounded, as both Scottish and English annals testified.¹³⁰ The Scots had been forced to go into exile, but they had never been subject to the English or anyone else:

"Et illo dato non concessio eo inficias quod Anglis vel quibuscumque Scoti cum in Britanniam venerunt: erunt subjecti." ¹³¹

There was, perhaps, one exception to this; Major acknowledged the possibility that the Scots and Picts had been beaten by Arthur, if

the accounts in British annals were correct. He went so far as to cite Geoffrey of Monmouth's statement that Arthur would have destroyed the Scots had they not come to him begging for peace, and to copy Geoffrey's list of the lands Arthur conquered which included all of Britain,¹³² all followed by a note that the extravagant praise the British heaped on Arthur brought some of the facts about him into doubt.¹³³

Major carefully dismissed all the notices of homage by the king of Scots to their king which he had come across in English annals. Caxton stated Malcolm III had held Scotland of William I; in response, Major explained that the Scottish kings held Cumbria of the English and their heirs had done homage for this earldom only.¹³⁴ Furthermore, Major said it was unheard of, and among Scots inconceivable, that a Scottish king at peace should recognize anyone as his temporal superior, and their record in resisting the Britons and Romans was evidence of this:

"Inauditum est unquam et apud Scotos prosus inopinabile, quod Scotus in suo regno pacificus Anglum vel quemcunctique alium in temporalibus superiorem recognosceret. Et istud ex praeteritis colligi potest, cum Romanis et Britonibus semper resisterint in insula, et saepius eos invaserint teste eorum historiographo et conterraneo Beda." 135

He thought it improbable that David I had done homage to Matilda for Scotland and argued along the same lines as he had in the case of Malcolm III.¹³⁶ Later, Major reported that Henry V had tried unsuccessfully to extort Scotland from the captive, James I, who preferred to die without his kingdom rather than harm it in any way.¹³⁷ The English had been able to capture the Scottish king, not the kingdom.¹³⁸

His tactics had to change when he turned to John and Edward Balliol. Most of the information about John Balliol's reign in the

Historia is in a citation from Caxton which Major considered both improbable and barely coherent.¹³⁹ Instead of following the English account with the Scottish version as he often did, Major skipped most of Balliol's reign except his surrender to Edward I. Later, Major returned to the Great Cause and reported that according to some, Balliol had agreed to hold Scotland from the English king; when he had tried to bring the kingdom under English control, he had been banished by the Scots.¹⁴⁰ Major later argued against the English king's right to the Scottish throne through Balliol's submission to Edward I. In the first place, Balliol had already lost whatever right he may have pretended to have once held; secondly, his submission was invalid because he was not at liberty at the time. Finally, no king had the power to subject his people to another:

"Si Eduardo Langschaukx ... Joannes Baliolus se subiecit, hoc non iuvat, tum primo quod a suo iure si quod praetendebat destitutus erat, tum secundo quod non erat in libertate constitutus: tum tertio quod Rex liber non potest ad nutum suum populum alteri subiicere." 141

For these same reasons, Edward Balliol's submission to Edward III was also invalid,¹⁴² and for good measure, it seems Edward Balliol had never had any right in Scotland. Even if the Balliols had ever had any right to the Scottish throne, a premise which Major did not accept, the laws governing kings would not allow them to transfer their right to the English, for a true king could not hand over his right to another on a whim.¹⁴³ Edward I and his grandson had been expelled from Scotland by the Scottish magnates; no English king ever enjoyed superiority over the Scots:

"Eduardum utrum qui Anglis extinctis Scotiae primores sine rege expulerunt: nec Anglorum rex aliquis unquam illa superioritate gravisus est." 144

Referring to his contemporaries, Major claimed the Scots were no less powerful and ready for war than when they first arrived 1850

years ago, and they were still prepared to risk their lives for the liberty of their kingdom:

"et iam mille octingentos et quinquaginta annos in Brittannia Scoti steterunt, hodierno die non minus potentes et ad bella propensi quem unquam fuerint, vitam pro patriae libertate exponere prompti: decorum putantes pro eam vitam morte commutare." 145

If an enemy force entered Scotland at dawn, it would take no more than a twelve hour working day for the nearest chief to gather the locals and lead them against the invader; these bands frequently destroyed themselves along with their enemy, but the Scots were content so long as the invader was forced to retreat. If the invader should have happened to be victorious, he was soon met by another chief in another battle, always at the expense of the people who took part.¹⁴⁶

Major established three main points: Scotland had always been independent; the Scottish kings had never done homage to the English for Scotland; and, the Scots were fully capable of defending their kingdom. Taken together, they cut the ground out from under any pretensions the English still had regarding their sovereignty over Scotland.

Resurrection of their claims by the English only fostered war amongst Christians. Edward I had unjustly vexed the Scots, and many Englishmen had been killed by Wallace, Bruce and the others who would not rest until they had restored the border to its position at the death of Alexander III.¹⁴⁷ As Major pointed out, twenty thousand Scots and English had died recently, and yet the Scots were still prepared to resist the English.¹⁴⁸ The English had no right to Scotland and were incapable of conquering it; likewise, the Scots could make little headway in their invasions of England. There could not be peace as long as the two kingdoms were striving for mastery over each

other,¹⁴⁹ for they were both invincible.¹⁵⁰

Major assumed both nations wanted peace, although he was not a pacifist; it was unnecessary slaughter of men and non-combatants to which he objected. He condemned Simon Brech, Kenneth mac Alpin, the earl of March, and the duke of Albany for the needless slaughter they had allowed.¹⁵¹ Major refused to believe heroes like Robert Bruce and his lieutenants, Thomas Randolph or James Douglas, two of the most famous knights of their time in Britain,¹⁵² had ever killed women or children; if it could be shown they had, then Major detested all three since the brave should be merciful.¹⁵³ Much of the evidence of the Historia seems designed to show that while wars could be necessary, it would be best for all concerned to avoid them whenever possible. After all, even the victor loses some men and property, and there was always the threat that loved ones would die.

So, it seems Major did not want a union because he was particularly enamoured of the English; he wanted peace. He realized that convincing the rest of Britain to choose peace would be a difficult task:

"Nulla autem causa est magis ardua ad propositum quam inter regna vicina et inimica quae facile ad arma ruunt (quemadmodum sunt haec) pacem stabilire." 154

The best way, he believed, to bring peace would be with a union by marriage. David II's proposal that he should be succeeded by an English prince would have been satisfactory, if David had intended that the heir to England should take the Scottish crown. It would have been imprudent to have crowned another of the English king's sons, for if two brothers could not live in peace in one kingdom, there was little chance they could do so in two.¹⁵⁵ As it was, his proposal was rejected unanimously by the three estates; they refused to disinherit the Scottish heir who deserved better treatment from the state.¹⁵⁶

This being the case, the only reasonable choice left open to either side was a union through marriage, if the horrors of war were to be avoided. The kings should exchange their daughters in marriage, until a child was born who was heir to all Britain. Otherwise, Major could not see how the Scots would ever take the English or the English take the Scots:

"Et sic iudico semper faciendum ut Anglorum filias Scoti Reges accipient: et contra. et sic uno dierum ad totam Britanniam ius verum alter habebit: quia sine vero iure non video quod Anglos Scoti vel Scotos Angli capient. matrimonium ergo prudentum consilio initum est." 157

Major prayed God would bring this about:

"Propter pacem finaliter iusta bella fiunt, quam Britannis deus qui omnia moderatur concedant quaeso ut per matrimonium utrumque regnum alter iusto titulo obtineat, quia aliam viam pacis firmam aegre video." 158

As Major pointed out, there were precedents for his policy dating as far back as the marriage of Malcolm III and Margaret; in answer to those sophists who could argue that marriage had never brought peace before, Major explained that this was only because their title had never been made good.¹⁵⁹

As long as the kingdoms were independent, and therefore almost by definition at war, the debatable lands along the border would be left a wasteland; in addition, the nobles of both would be lost in battle, goods lost at sea, and expensive armies would have to be maintained.¹⁶⁰ According to Major, only those who preferred their private profit to the common good would object to his proposal for a union.¹⁶¹ He assumed the Scottish magnates, and probably the English, would be amongst the opposition because none of them would care to stand against a king with as much power as the heir to both realms. The union, however, would be beneficial to the magnates as well, since justice could be enforced, they would be spared invasions by a foreign king,

and should they ever suffer an injury, there would be no enemy nearby who could subvert the course of justice.¹⁶² Any misgivings the Scots in general may have about their having to accept taxation on an English scale were groundless; Major believed the English king, should he be heir to Scotland, would respect the ancient liberties of the Scots. Besides, taxation was good for the commonweal.¹⁶³

Major considered the end of Scotland as an autonomous entity a small enough sacrifice to make for the good of the kingdom and its inhabitants. He never confronted the emotional questions raised by his proposals for the same reasons he ignored the popular stories denigrating either kingdom. If it was the duty of every reasonable man to use his own judgement and not be ruled by either love or hate when writing history, then certainly these same criteria applied when debating what was best for the commonweal. He did approach the issue when he pointed out that although the Scottish name and kingdom would disappear, so would the English, and the heir to both kingdoms would be known as the king of Britain:

"et si Scotorum nomen et regnum caderent: Sic et Anglorum: quia proutroque rex Britanniae diceretur." 164

Major was more concerned with the welfare of the inhabitants of both kingdoms than with pandering to the national pride of the Scots. For him, Scotland's independence was no longer something to defend at all costs; instead, it should be sacrificed if an heir to both kingdoms could bring peace.

. . .

Considering he was a theologian by profession, Major spent remarkably little time discussing either theological questions or church history in the Historia. He assumed God was the ultimate cause of everything and all princes were answerable to Him.¹⁶⁵ Phenomena

for which Major could find no natural explanation were ascribed to the will of God. But He was not portrayed as the special benefactor of the Scots. All the parallels to the Hebrews had been removed from the narrative, so the Scots were bereft of their status as a chosen people. Few miracles or appearances by saints in Scottish affairs were reported. Similarly, Major argued in favour of Bruce's right to the throne by law, and did not introduce his account of Bruce's career with the traditional proclamation that he had been raised by God to redeem the Scots. God supervised everything, so it must have been His will that the Scots should prosper, but Major did not claim He had helped them directly.

Major was more concerned with reforming the Scottish church than with recounting what churchmen had done. For a start, the Scottish church organization could not be compared to the English; the Scots sometimes had only one church for thirty villages, so the few cures there were in Scotland were wealthy,¹⁶⁶ whereas in England, each village had a parish church.¹⁶⁷ It would be better if the Scots copied the English, multiplied the number of cures, and lessened the revenues attached to each. Similarly, Major agreed with James I's complaint about the generosity of David I.¹⁶⁸ It seems David himself had done nothing wrong and had acted only out of piety, though without a true understanding of the consequences. Because of his gifts, and similar good deeds, the church had become too wealthy and piety had been suffocated. Now the shepherds only took care of themselves instead of their flocks, and benefices were held in commendam by the sons of princes.¹⁶⁹ The religious should reform their way of life for their own good as well as that of the church. Meanwhile, church funds should be redistributed, sent to the poor and to those who could not be easily ransomed, like the king. The ecclesiastics who balked at

giving the church's revenues to the king, but did not feel guilty about giving them to their kin and friends, merely strained at the gnat and swallowed the camel.¹⁷⁰

The papacy and the rest of the church hierarchy were seldom mentioned in the narrative except when legates were sent to Britain or when John of England surrendered his possessions to the pope. Major was careful to explain that the sentence of excommunication pronounced against Alexander II was invalid,¹⁷¹ and he refused to believe that Bruce and his lieutenants had been put under interdict by the pope.¹⁷² He never mentioned the Scots' appeal to the curia in 1302, the response to the Declaration of Arbroath, or anything the papacy had ever done to help the Scots. These comments and omissions may be a reflection of his conciliarist opinions.¹⁷³

By and large, there were comparatively few entries about the church at any level. Unlike Bower, Major did not believe it was his duty to lecture his audience on anything and everything which came to mind or to catalogue the office holders of a great number of Scottish benefices. Major had already published a great number of theological works; if his readers wanted to debate religious questions, they could take up one of those volumes, as he once suggested.¹⁷⁴ A history was no place for these debates.

. . .

The Historia Maioris Britanniae tam Angliae quam Scoticae, as its title suggests, was designed to convince both the Scots and the English that they had more in common than most of them were willing to recognize. They were all Britons¹⁷⁵ whether they liked it or not. Major's sense of the urgency of his task, inspired, perhaps, by the death of the king at Flodden, is reflected in his publishing a history at all; for a theologian to write history was almost revolutionary

at the time.¹⁷⁶ It may have been his previous experience with publishing which encouraged him to turn to history.¹⁷⁷ Furthermore, a history must have seemed the most suitable platform from which to state his case for an end to the unnecessary slaughter.

For all that some of his contemporaries "were coming round to the view that there might be more future in collaboration with England than in antagonism",¹⁷⁸ Major's Historia seems to have been greeted less than enthusiastically by the majority of his compatriots. Even his friend Gavin Douglas opposed its use with such determination that Polydore Vergil reported, "Douglas vehementlie requiered mee, that in relation of the Scottishe affaires, I shoulde in no wise follow the president of an historie of a certaine contriman of his",¹⁷⁹ Major. As it turned out, Vergil ignored Douglas' advice and used both Major and Boece when compiling his history.¹⁸⁰ Adam Abell, a Scottish chronicler, also read both accounts, and where Major and Boece disagreed, a frequent occurrence, he gave greater credence to Boece.¹⁸¹ Similarly, Major's Historia could not have found much favour in the court of the king to whom it had been dedicated. When Boece's history was published, Bellenden was given a royal commission to translate it, while no translation had been ordered for Major's work. And in his choice of a French bride, James V totally rejected Major's plans for a union by marriage with England.

Major's reputation as a theologian, scholar, and teacher must not have suffered any permanent damage in Scotland, for his arrival at St Andrews has been credited with bringing an influx of students.¹⁸² John Bellenden may have been representative of the Scots' attitude towards Major; he did not allow Major's arguments to influence his translation of Boece's Scotorum Historiae, but he turned to Major to back up his own opinion of the state of the church.¹⁸³ Boece himself

thought Major's theological writings were like "brightest torches".¹⁸³
His Scotorum Historiae was the next work on Scottish history to be published which is still extant, and despite his high regard for his compatriot, Boece enthusiastically embraced the myths, legends, and preoccupations of Major's predecessors.

"There is really no limit to historians' lies."

-Livy

"There are eight hundred and sixty-nine
different forms of lying, but only one
of them has been squarely forbidden.
Thou shalt not bear false witness against
thy neighbor."

-Mark Twain

Hector Boece's Scotorum Historiae

One answer to Major's challenge to re-evaluate what had always been accepted as Scottish history came in the form of Hector Boece's Scotorum Historiae a Prima Gentis. Boece ignored Major's dissection of the myths and legends which had become part and parcel of Scottish history and instead accepted the cherished traditions enthusiastically. In doing so, Boece accurately calculated what his compatriots wished to read, for his history eclipsed the fame of Major's¹ and was translated a number of times.

Boece seems to have been born circa 1465² in or near Dundee, which he later called mihi patria.³ He is thought to have been a member of the Angus family, the Boyis of Panbride.⁴ His only references to his family were to one of his brothers, Arthur, who joined him on the staff of the University of Aberdeen,⁵ and to his great-grandfather, Hugo Boetius, who received compensation from David II as one of those whose fathers had been killed at Dupplin.⁶

Boece received his Bachelor and Master of Arts degrees from Paris, where he was made procurator of the German nation.⁷ From 1492 he lectured on philosophy at Montaigu College.⁸ Boece never seems to have lost his warm feeling for Paris and, much later, wrote from Aberdeen that he would always revere the university.⁹ He was a disciple of the new learning, and although the Scotorum Historiae has been taken as "a measure of how superficial the veneer of humanist learning was",¹⁰ Boece seems to have been sincere in his efforts to encourage such studies. The most famous example of this was his patronage of Erasmus while they were both still at Montaigu. Boece attended Erasmus' Biblical lessons¹¹ and persisted in his demands that Erasmus continue to write poetry when even Erasmus himself did not believe he had any skill in that art.¹² Boece was not just following fashion, for his loyalty remained unshaken when, in

May 1528, Erasmus was being attacked by Paris.¹³ At that time, Boece asked Erasmus to send a catalogue of his works, apparently for the use of the students at Aberdeen,¹⁴ and, in the same letter, described a Danish bookbinder's delight when he found Boece's charges using Erasmus' Paraphrase of Christ's Gospels as a divinity text.¹⁵ Erasmus replied in an open letter printed at the end of his next work, thanking Boece for his interest and reminding him of the time they had spent together as students in Paris; significantly, it was in this letter his often quoted statement that Boece could not lie occurred.¹⁶ Boece seems to have had some effect on his Scottish students, notably Florence Wilson, who graduated from Aberdeen¹⁷ before going to Paris. Wilson remembered his former teacher fondly, and upon sending John Ogilvie a copy of Erasmus' Apothegmata, he asked after their mutual acquaintances, and sent his love particularly to Boece.¹⁸

Bishop Elphinstone has been singled out as one of the precursors of humanism in Scotland,¹⁹ so Boece's humanist sympathies may have been one of the factors which led to his appointment as first principal of the new University of Aberdeen. In his own estimation, Boece left Paris when barely supplied with the rudiments of learning.²⁰ Under the circumstances, this may not have been entirely an expression of false modesty since a principal was supposed to be a doctor of theology, and Boece was not.²¹ Presumably, he continued his theological studies after his return to Scotland in July 1498²² while he was organizing the Arts Faculty,²³ a task he had completed by the time he took up the post of principal in 1505. His progress toward his doctorate in theology may well have been hampered by his interest in medicine. He was registered as a licentiate in theology by 1519,²⁴ but two years earlier, a special papal indult had been published

allowing him to receive a doctorate in medicine.²⁵ Despite all his academic and ecclesiastical duties, for by this time he held several benefices,²⁶ Boece found time to practise. In 1535, he was called to the aid of Robert Chrystal, abbot of Kinloss; upon arrival in Strathisla, Boece concluded that the abbot was already beyond cure, but he did what he could to help.²⁷ His medical background also crept into the Scotorum Historiae, as when he compared ancient and modern practices in one of the early books.²⁸ It was not until after the Scotorum Historiae was published that he received his doctorate in theology from his own university, Aberdeen.²⁹

In 1527, Boece returned to have the Scotorum Historiae published at his own expense;³⁰ considering the number of copies to be found in Scotland, it has been suggested that he also had a hand in its importation,³¹ although importing books was not, apparently, difficult for Scots at that time.³² Boece had already published two works, a volume of logic entitled Explicatio quorundum vocabulorum, which may have been printed in Paris in 1522,³³ and the Murthlacensium et Aberdonensium Episcoporum Vitae, published, again in Paris, in 1522. At the same time, perhaps before the Scotorum Historiae was completed, he compiled a tract on the altars of St Machar's Cathedral which remained in manuscript.³⁴ When he had nearly completed the Episcoporum Vitae, Boece had already started the Scotorum Historiae which he referred to in passing while discussing Elphinstone's part in the debate preceding the Flodden campaign. He explained that he would save his description of the misery which followed this defeat until he had come to the appropriate place in the Scotorum Historiae "which I have in hand."³⁵ But it was not until 1525 that, by his own account he received one of the sources upon which he relied most heavily, namely Veremund.³⁶

Much of the controversy surrounding the Scotorum Historiae is centred on Boece's sources for that portion of the narrative containing the fictitious kings. In his preface, Boece explained that he had known little about this period until Colin, the earl of Argyll, and his uncle, the royal treasurer, John Campbell, came to his aid by supplying him with ancient volumes:

"Quam licet in me nequaquam agnoscam: immo quam longe absim ab ea intelligam, tunc lectitandi libros quosdam, quos raros antehac quispiam viderat, opera maxime clarissimorum virorum, Caleni Campibelli comitis Argadie, et Joannis germani eius viri clarissimi et a Thesauris tuis fidelissimi facultatem nactus nefas esse ducens tanta rerum populi nostri monumenta in obscura latere, nolui id pertinacius recusare". 37

Boece stated that it was the royal treasurer who had brought the books from Iona to Aberdeen,³⁸ but John Campbell seems to have done more than this. In the "Tabula ... Isagogem", Boece spoke of a "Campusbellus scriptor historiae Scotorum",³⁹ and in the preface, he listed Campbell as one of the sources upon whom he depended most heavily:

"Ex illis enim cum diversissimi sint elegi externis authoribus minus dissonos, quos potissimum imitarer. Veremundum, Campumbellum et inter primos Reverendum antistitem et episcopum V. Elphinstoun." 40

John Campbell was also named in the text a number of times, usually in conjunction with Veremund, but not always;⁴¹ in one of the translations of the Scotorum Historiae, the Mar Lodge, Boece's John Campbell was called "Schir Iohne Campbell".⁴² As the illegitimate son of the first earl of Argyll,⁴³ John Campbell would have been instructed in the traditions of the early period by the MacEwans,⁴⁴ the historians, genealogists and poets of the Campbells,⁴⁵ and he could have passed on some of this information to the Lowlander. Certainly, if Campbell was eager enough to take time from his royal duties to bring books to Boece, then he would not have been above helping in other ways, perhaps moved by a wish to see an account published which would rectify the

damage done to the traditional history of Scotland by John Major. Boece also referred to a conversation with a Duncan Campbell, and such personal contact goes a long way towards explaining the anti-Hebridean bias of the text and the striking number of rebels and thieves named Donald mentioned in it.

Most investigations of Boece's sources ignore Campbell and concentrate on trying to identify the mysterious Veremund. According to Boece, Veremund was a Spanish ecclesiastic, the archdeacon of St Andrews, who had written a history of the Scots from their origin to the reign of Malcolm III:

"Veremundi, Archidiaconi olim sancti Andreae de nostris rebus, et si rudi quadam vetustate, conscripta historia, a Scotorum gentis origine usque ad Malcolmum Canmor regem, abunde omnia complectens." 46

He was not supposed to be the first to have used Veremund's work. Boece described how Bishop Elphinstone, his patron, had travelled throughout the kingdom searching for Scottish antiquities; he had found Veremund's history while visiting Iona and had decided to use it in his own narrative:

"Vvilhelmus Elphinstoun ... qui primus diligenti indagine quum omnem prope Scotiam perlustrasset, si quo in loco reperire posset vetus ullum rerum nostrarum monumentum ... tandem ex percipiens, patriae amore et si gravissimus distingebatur negociis, tunc tantum laborem subire haud veritus, historiam scribere exorsus est." 47

Boece had, therefore, vouchers for the authenticity of Veremund's history, but a debate about its existence and its probable author has arisen anyway. Suggestions as to Veremund's identity range from a thirteenth century culdee from St Andrews⁴⁸ to an invention of Boece's for "providing not only the events which should have happened but also the names of authorities which should have existed for these events."⁴⁹ Unfortunately, this is not the time or place to argue for or against all the suggestions,⁵⁰ except to agree with the consensus of opinion

that Boece did not invent the thirty-nine kings and the rest of the information he ascribed to Veremund. Whoever Veremund may have been, it seems highly unlikely that Boece would risk associating his late patron, Elphinstone, John Campbell, the "lovit familiar, servitor and councilor" of the king,⁵¹ and the earl of Argyll, in a fraud which could so easily have been challenged in his own time.

Still, the question remains whether Boece truly believed the volume ascribed to Veremund was what it purported to be. Sixteenth century historians, by and large, were not careful in their research,⁵² and Boece already had Elphinstone's authority for the authenticity of Veremund before the volume was brought to him. Even so, he must have had his doubts for he rarely cited Veremund on his own, and generally preferred to back him up with one or more other sources, including John Campbell. Fordun and Wyntoun had both complained about the confusion of the sources for this early period, so when Boece first found a succession of kings neatly worked out in Elphinstone's work, which has since been lost, he probably seized on this stroke of good fortune without many questions. Later, when Campbell brought him the volume containing Veremund, Boece would have turned a blind eye to any irregularities in the text he believed Elphinstone had trusted, and simply checked his information against the original.⁵³

The narrative Boece constructed was very popular in the royal court where two commissions were given for its translation into Scots. A third Scots translation is extant, and eleven years after its first appearance, a French translation of selections from the Scotorum Historiae was published in Paris.⁵⁴ James V seems to have had a copy of Bellenden's translation, or, just as likely, Boece's original, with him when he went to France in 1537; selections from the cosmography and history were translated in order to acquaint Queen Magdalane with

her new kingdom,⁵⁵ and more than likely it was this French work which was later printed.

Boece received more immediate and tangible proofs of his success soon after the publication of the Scotorum Historiae. In 1528, the University of Aberdeen made him a doctor of theology, and the Aberdeen town council granted him his choice of either a tun of wine or £20 to help him buy a bonnet.⁵⁶ Earlier, the king had granted him a pension of £50 until he could be promoted to a benefice worth one hundred marks Scots.⁵⁷ Since there is no record of this pension having been paid after 1534,⁵⁸ Boece may have had the opportunity to enjoy his benefice for his death was not recorded until 1536. He does not seem to have written any other works after the Scotorum Historiae, though he seems to have had the opportunity to proofread John Bellenden's manuscript, the only one of the translations into Scots of the history to have been published.

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John Bellenden was born circa 1495 somewhere within the area designated Lothian by the University of St Andrews, which included everything southeast of Stirling.⁵⁹ He matriculated at that university, and sometime later continued his education at Paris, either immediately upon graduation from St Andrews or following his dismissal from royal service in 1522.⁶⁰ From 1515 to 1522 he kept the books presented to the exchequer as the king's "clerk of the expenses"⁶¹ and seems to have supervised James V's education as well.⁶² His career as a courtier was set back by his dismissal in August 1522, perhaps by the Duke of Albany, because he was "Douglas' man".⁶³ Bellenden later blamed his expulsion from the court on jealousy and maintained that he had always done his best to serve the king.⁶⁴

There is evidence of his loyalty to the Douglasses in The History

and Chronicles of Scotland, his translation of the Scotorum Historiae. Bellenden usually omitted rather than added material when translating. It is therefore significant that a number of his inserts concern the Douglasses, including a two line extract from the Bruce stating that no surname in Scotland could equal that of Douglas. He also praised the great deeds of the good Sir James and his kin,⁶⁵ observing that "sen that surname wes put down, Scotland hes done few vailyeant dedis in Ingland."⁶⁶ Similarly, Bellenden commented while discussing the death of Wallace:

"Nochtheles, sic invy hes ay bene, and is yit, in Scotland, that na nobillman may leif in it, bot, othir be ane treason or othir, (he is) finaly distroyit." 67

Bellenden's whereabouts during the six years following his dismissal are obscure. He may have studied in Paris, or perhaps he was the John Bellenden who served the earl of Angus as a secretary at that time.⁶⁸ He eventually reappeared in 1528 when he was made a canon in the cathedral of Ross.⁶⁹ In April of the next year, Bellenden and his servant, William Fleming, were granted a precept of remission for their treasonable assistance to the house of Douglas.⁷⁰ This did not bring an immediate welcome back into the court, and Sir David Lindsay put Bellenden's case to the king in the Complaint written in 1530:

"But now of late has start up heastily,
A cunning clerk, which writeth craftily;
A plant of poets, called Ballanten,
Whose ornat writs my wit cannot defyne;
Get he into the Court authority,
He will percel Quintin and Kenedy." 71

Perhaps Lindsay was able to influence the king, for in 1530 Bellenden received a royal commission to translate the Scotorum Historiae; he had completed his first version of this by October 1531 and had revised it, again for the king's benefit, by July 1533.⁷² By this time he had

already started work on another royal commission, a translation of the first five books of Livy's history of Rome which took him until November 1533 to complete.⁷³ The second translation of the Scotorum Historiae was published in 1536 in what seems to have been a semi-private edition;⁷⁴ a second edition appeared in 1540.⁷⁵

Eventually, Bellenden's promotion within the church⁷⁶ seems to have taken him away from work in literature.⁷⁷ In addition, he was elected rector of the University of Glasgow in 1542 and was re-elected the two following years.⁷⁸ In 1545, he left Scotland, perhaps to avoid the plague, and travelled to Rome on a suit over a benefice.⁷⁹ He is said to have died there sometime before November 10, 1548,⁸⁰ though it is possible that he survived several years after that date.⁸¹

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Bellenden's translation is the only one to be studied here in any detail. The "Mar Lodge" translation was done within a few years of 1527, apparently by a cleric of the diocese of Dunkeld.⁸² As this text seems to be in the same hand as that of a copy of Bellenden's Livy, it has also been suggested that the Mar Lodge translation was the revised text presented by Bellenden to James V in 1533,⁸³ though the disparity between Bellenden's final text and this one militate against this. It is a far more precise translation than the one published by Bellenden. Unfortunately, it is incomplete, and will be used here only in comparison with Bellenden.

A verse translation of the Scotorum Historiae was done by William Stewart. He was born circa 1481, became a determinant at St Andrews in 1499 and a licentiate in 1501 in preparation for a career in the church.⁸⁴ Like Bellenden, he received a royal commission⁸⁵ which he completed on 29 September 1535.⁸⁶ Only one imperfect copy of his translation, The Buik of the Croniclis of Scotland, is extant.⁸⁷

Stewart was quite open about his loose treatment of his original. Fairly frequently he noted that he had not bothered to translate word for word because the text was tedious or unimportant, and he even confessed that he could not remember exactly how it went.⁸⁸ He frequently inflated Boece's narrative, filling in the gaps by explaining what Boece had left to the imagination, and emphasizing the descriptions of battles and armour. But he retained Boece's sequence of events, and the substance of the Scotorum Historiae is always present, if somewhat obscured. Like the Mar Lodge translation, the Buik will be referred to only on occasion.

The final version of Bellenden's translation as it was published by him, and not one of the manuscripts, will be discussed here; the changes made by Boece when he proof read the manuscript were, very probably, minimal,⁸⁹ so it only seems fair to judge the translator by his final draft. This was a close, but not exact,⁹⁰ translation of the Scotorum Historiae, neither as independent as Stewart's verse, or as precise as the Mar Lodge manuscript. The editor of his translation of Livy thought highly of Bellenden's command of the vernacular and his skillful paraphrasing.⁹¹ Turning to The History, another critic spoke of Bellenden as "an able translator - his flowing and picturesque style doing full justice to the original, while he added so much in Boece's own manner that he further adapted it to the tastes of the time."⁹² On the other hand, his latest editors consider many of Bellenden's changes great mistranslations.⁹³

It may be questioned how necessary it would have been for Bellenden to adapt the popular Scotorum Historiae to his own times, considering that he was working within a few years of its publication. Bellenden omitted innumerable passages of the original when Boece

was particularly tedious or when he strayed into subjects which the translator considered inappropriate for a history. He also moulded the narrative to suit himself, and many of his changes form consistent patterns and independent themes. A number of Bellenden's changes will be discussed here; otherwise, if only Boece's opinion is given, any disagreement between the two writers was not sufficient to warrant attention.

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One of the subjects on which the two always agreed was their reason for writing. Both works had been compiled for the king's education, as Bellenden stated:

"I dare baldly afferme no othir besines sall be mair fruitful to your hienes, than frequent reding of thir, and siclik historyis. For sic thingis sall nocht onely move you to imitation of virtew, bot sall infound na les experience and wisdom, than ye war travellit throw the warld, or agit be lang proces of yeris!"⁹⁴

This is the only aspect of their narratives which resembled that of their immediate predecessor, John Major.

Boece was determined to cast aside Major's account and his criticisms in order to teach the king the traditional history of his nation, inherited, by and large, from Fordun. He made this clear at the first opportunity, in his summary of the contents of the volume:

Scotorum origo, nomenclatura, et ab Aegypto usque per Hispanias, Hiberniam ac Hebride in eam Albionis regionem, quae nunc Scotia dicitur appulsus, fraustusque adventus.⁹⁵

Thus, Major's arguments were brushed aside at a stroke, and Boece continued in this same manner throughout the Scotorum Historiae, most strikingly in the earlier books. He and Major disagreed on many essentials, including the crux of Major's arguments, his definition of the term, "Britain". It seems Roman authors had called the whole island Britain, and even Tacitus had made this

mistake.⁹⁶ On the other hand, the Scots always discriminated between the peoples of Albion by applying "Britain" only for that part inhabited by the ancient Britons, and Boece intended to do likewise:

"Nos vero rerum nostrarum scriptores secuti, ut discriminem inter Albionis populos legentibus pateret, solem eam partem Albionis quam Bruti posteritas incoluit Britanniam eiusque tantummodo incolas Britones vocitamus, caeterarum regionum regnorumque peculiaribus nominibus usi pro sensu historico."⁹⁷

The Historia was never referred to by name; still, even some of Boece's minor comments seemed designed to contradict Major, as if Boece had written the Scotorum Historiae with the Historia always in the back of his mind.

Fordun had wished to establish Scottish independence. For Boece, this was no longer an issue, and he used the Chronica as the basis for a narrative designed to present the glories of the Scots' past to his compatriots and his European contemporaries. Boece was grieved by the degeneration he imagined was weakening his nation. Boece addressed this subject directly in the cosmography, in answer, he said, to an anonymous request. As long as the Scots had lived a hard and disciplined life they had defeated all their enemies; eventually, they had started to weaken until they were completely overcome by their lusts. He wanted to compare the old and new ways of life, but the differences were so great that he felt unable to describe them adequately:

"acquievique tandem sic instantibus, ut qui mores maioribus nostris tum domi tum militiae fuerint, ad haec quae utrobique disciplinae tot et tantos adversarios, primum Britannos, deinde Romanos, postea saepe Danos, saepe Saxones, cum ingentibus in Albionem exercitibus ingruentes, tanto sustinuissent tempore: subinde ut sensim labascentibus a maiorum institutis vires quoque: illae virtutesque diffluere coeperunt: denique hoc tempore, quo vicinorum seu clementia, seu maiore etiam mollitia magis fere quam viribus nostris tuti sumus, omni cupiditatis generi immersi poene omnes volutemur, quam possem paucissimis conscriberem."⁹⁸

With Flodden and the Duke of Albany's abortive campaign of 1523 in recent memory, Boece's sermons must have seemed particularly relevant to his fellow countrymen.

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Boece and Bellenden disagreed over the unit formed by the Scots, as is reflected in Bellenden's translation of certain words. Whereas Boece presented the Scots as a race, Bellenden emphasized their political unity as subjects of the same kingdom. (See Table 6)

Bellenden must have understood the tie between individuals implied by gens, for occasionally he translated it with words with similar connotations: "nationis", "kinnismen" and "samin blude". However, in general, he ignored this and chose more neutral words such as "pepil" which, in his text, could also mean the whole of the human race or the commons, and therefore lacked the force of gens. Bellenden frequently transformed references to specific nations into references to their kingdoms or regions, such as when "Ordovices ... gentem" became "Annandale".⁹⁹ The Mar Lodge scribe translated gens as "nation" and "peple" in equal portions in the first two books, and sometimes also used "cuntreis", "folkis", "freyndis", "strangearis" and "our realme". Of these last, only two referred to the land, and they were exceptions to his general practice; the same can not be said of Bellenden's choice of words.

When referring to either a race or to the commons, Bellenden generally translated populus as "pepil"; in other instances, he replaced it with "cuntre", "regioun", "realme", and "partis". In Mar Lodge, populus was usually translated as "peple", no matter what its context, but the scribe also chose "nation" and in one passage, "clan"; he never transformed populus into a place.

Again, in Bellenden's translations of natio, places dominated

people, as he generally replaced natio with a phrase describing the individual's or group's place of origin. For example, when Boece described Edward II's army as a motley horde made up of men from various nationes, Bellenden described them as coming from various "landis".¹⁰⁰ Bellenden also turned tribal names into the proper names of the areas they inhabited, as when Cormanum Novantarum ducem became "Cormanus, capitane of Lorne",¹⁰¹ and when the rebellious insulae Vectae incolae and his Cantianorum were converted into "the Ile of Wicht and Kent-schire was rebellit".¹⁰²

Boece's choice of gens, populus and natio is evidence of his attachment to his nation. Even taking into account the association of the land and its inhabitants in words like "cuntre" by the vernacular authors already studied, Bellenden's setting aside of the precise definitions of the words Boece had chosen reflected his loyalty to his kingdom over his race. More exact translations of the words selected by Boece existed and were accepted by his contemporaries, as shown by the Mar Lodge text, but Bellenden's preference for the kingdom over-ruled his use of them. This is underscored by his interpretation of patria. He understood the emotive force of this word, and sometimes translated it as "hame" or "native cuntre"; in the Mar Lodge text, the scribe consistently chose a variation of "cuntre", such as "awne cuntre" or "native cuntre" throughout the first two books. For Bellenden, the patria was the kingdom, so he usually translated patria as "realme".

The nation to which Boece was loyal was united by more than just common ancestry; history and traditions had played their part in unification by helping to distinguish the Scots from their neighbours. Boece took Bede as his authority that during the reign of Mordacus, there were four nations in Albion who in "morbus, lingua

et institutis plurimum different."¹⁰³ This idea lay behind Boece's complaint that Edward I, in his arrogance, had tried to obliterate the barriers between the Scots and English by forbidding the use of Scottish customs and practices. He ordered the destruction of all the histories of the Scots, along with all their other books, both sacred and profane, and instituted the use of the English rite in Scottish churches. He banished all the learned to England fearing that if the Scots were ever taught their own history, they would rebel against him. Ancient Scottish monuments were to be destroyed, although the natives contrived to preserve the Roman ruin on the Carron river. Finally, he removed the stone throne on which the Scottish kings had been crowned:

"Subacta vero Scotia, omnes consuetudines veteres, omnibus in rebus Scotorum Eduardus abolere statuit. Ita denique existimavit congruentibus cum Anglis eorum moribus, animos quoque coalituros. Itaque historias omnes Scotorum, omnia sacrarum iuxta atque prophanarum rerum volumina concremari ubique praecepit, magna decreta poena qui praeceptum contempsisset. Libros sacros Anglico ritu conscribi iussit, utque eos solos haberent, edixit. Quotquot vero eruditionis erant usquam nomine clari, quorum haud paucos tum Scotia aiebat, Oxonium relegavit. Verebatur enim ne illorum doctrinis effecti sapientiores, iugum reiicerent. ... Nec vero illud reticendum existimo, quod arroganter ac stolide in delenda vetustate commissum ab eo est. Nam quum perlustrans exercitu omnem Scotiam pervagaretur, e regione Cameloduni, quae olim regia fuerat Pictorum, conspecto Claudii Caesaris victoriaeque pervetusto templo, quod ad Caronam amnem a Vespasiano olim aedificatum uti suo loco memoriae datum est, adhuc staret, vetustate conspicuum, vel hoc boni Scotis invidens, deleri praecepit. Sed incolis antiquitas suas adamantibus, neque extemplo praeceptum perficientibus, mutato statim consilio, parietibus et tecto templi vitam dedit ... Sed iam in Angliam reversus Eduardus, ne ullum deletis historiis regni usquam vestigium permaneret, cathedram lapideam, quibus insidentes coronari Scotorum reges consuenerant, e Scona Londinum secum attulit, atque in Vvestmonasterio ... deposuit." 104

The reader can only suppose that if Edward I had been thorough in this campaign, and had been able to maintain his sovereignty over Scotland, the Scots would have lost their separate identity as he had hoped, despite their blood ties.

The extended kinglist found in the Scotorum Historiae is proof of Boece's attachment to the monarchy. Fordun had been moved by the need to establish Scottish independence when he claimed that forty-five kings had separated the two Ferguses. For Boece, the Scots' ancient dynasty was a credit to them well worth proclaiming to the rest of Europe. Thanks to Veremund, John Campbell, and the untraceable author Cornelius Hibernicus, Boece was able to supply the careers of thirty-nine kings, as Fordun and the befuddled Wyntoun had not been able to do. Fordun had named only two of these kings, Rethar, and Eugenius, who, he said, had been killed by the Romans and Picts in the defeat which preceded the exile of the Scots.¹⁰⁵ Even so, the Chronica was the source of most of the rest of the names in Boece's list as well, for many were borrowed from the genealogy of David I tracing his descent from Simon Brech and Japhet.¹⁰⁶ Others were adopted from the British dynasty; Boece and his authorities were loath to share any glory with another nation, so Caratacus was lifted, undisguised, from the British, while Tacitus' Calgacus became Boece's Corbredus Galdus who made the valiant, if ill-fated, stand against Agricola. These thirty-nine extra reigns also helped to emphasize that for Boece a Scotorum Historiae was very much a record of the Scots' kings.

This loyalty to the monarchy notwithstanding, the position of the individual sovereign as the head of the nation and the cornerstone of the kingdom was challenged in the Scotorum Historiae to a degree that even Major's Historia could not match. The Scotorum Historiae, and especially the biographies of the fictitious kings, put forward theories about the relationship between the members of the Scottish nation which divorced the person of the sovereign from the crown and highlighted the election of the king introduced by Major. Boece did not debate the theory of the basis of the king's power; he simply

described the practice. He was no more a democrat than Major and in his narrative, the nation depended on the monarchy for its survival. The king was their protector and guide whose example the nation followed for good or ill. But the individual monarch was no longer sacrosanct. He was dependent on the support of the people, and particularly of the nobles, to maintain his power. If he did not fulfill his obligations, those upon whom he depended could, and should, withdraw their support and, if necessary, remove him from office.

The king's right to the throne rested as much on his election and acclamation by the nobles as on his royal blood. In the introductory "Catalogue of Kings", almost twice as many kings were said to have been put into office as were said to have succeeded. In the body of the history, the ratio is nearly three to one between those who were selected or approved before they took the crown and those who were not. The notice of the death of an incumbent was, especially in the earlier books, almost always followed by a description of the choice of his successor by the council of the nobles; this system was not ideal, for the factions could turn to bloodshed while the council tried to settle a dispute over the crown.¹⁰⁷ Bellenden seems to have taken the candidates' passive role for granted as he most often replaced the variety of phrases used by Boece with some variation of "wes maid king" or "ressavit the crown".

The closest any king ever came to possessing divine right to the throne was when Aidan was selected by St Columba to succeed. Even in this instance, Columba had to convince the gathering of nobles that Aidan had been sanctioned to rule by human and divine order, and that, as king, his protection of the Scots would be another sign of God's favour towards his people:

"Habetis ergo regem nonmodo humana sed etiam divina voluntate regnare iussum. ... memores quantis beneficiis deus optimus

maximus vos hodierna tempestate donaverit, sacris vos erudiens dogmatibus ut sibi charus peculiarisque sitis populus". 108

For Boece, the king, even one like Aidan, wore the crown because his people, or at least his nobles, had given it to him. In this way, Boece adapted the theory first expounded in the Declaration of Arbroath. To him, it seemed that the nobles had created the king and could, if they wished, remove him from the throne.

This right to depose the king hinged on how well he ruled. For instance he had to set a good example for his subjects since first the nobles and then the commons adopted his ways, whether virtuous or not:

"Enimvero inter nostrates ita natura est comparatum, ut magnates primum, inde caetera multitudo in regis mores se transformant: quo uno apparente studioso populus virtuti se dedit: quo item flagitiis addicto rari eius imperio audientes, scelere sunt immunes." 109

Boece's kinglist was not one to inspire great faith in the innate ability of the Scottish kings. Of its 101 kings, twenty-eight were tyrants and died in some appropriately unpleasant manner; another fourteen were capable of doing only a mediocre job, due either to circumstances or to personal weakness. This left only fifty-nine, less than two thirds, who did their job well, and very few of these were endowed with exceptional virtue of any kind. The tyrants were scattered irregularly throughout the narrative previous to the reign of Malcolm III; after this, only John Balliol was denounced by Boece and even he was not described as a tyrant. As he drew nearer his own time, Boece did not dwell on the faults of those kings like Robert II and his son which resembled those of the tyrants and mediocre kings who people the earlier part of the Scotorum Historiae.

Boece had a clear idea of what qualities a monarch should possess, and many of these were embodied in the reign of the early king, Fynan.

He was charitable, administered justice ably, and made it his invariable practice to always consult the council about war and other crucial issues. In this way, he united the people under him so there was no civil discord while at the same time, the kingdom enjoyed peace with all its neighbours. Finally, he encouraged religious practice.¹¹⁰ From the dozens of accounts of the Scottish kings and Boece's many asides, there emerges a familiar picture of the monarch as the source of justice and law who was strong enough to keep control of all his subjects.¹¹¹ It was only when he came to the role of the king's advisers and their powers that Boece veered radically from the views of preceding historians.

Boece traced the origins of a number of aristocratic families, showing their rise to power through their own merit; he also recorded the downfall of some of these. By and large, the successes outnumbered the failures, though just the opposite seemed the case to Bellenden:

"Schaw how na hous of gret dominion
 Na men of riches nor excellent micht,
 May lang continew in this region;
 Becaus the pepill may not suffer hicht." 112

Despite Bellenden's gloom, the family histories were proof that the Scottish nobility had earned their privileged position.

The aristocracy already regarded themselves as the natural leaders of society,¹¹³ and Boece gave them a two-fold part in his scheme of the government, acting as the king's advisers and as the basis of his military strength. Every good king listened to his aristocratic counsellors; one sure sign that a monarch was losing interest in good government was his fraternizing with low-born favourites and listening only to them or to no one at all. What was more, the king should obey the will of the magnates, as when Henry IV explained he had had no choice but to invade Scotland because his nobles had insisted.¹¹⁴

Boece repetitiously praised successive kings for having had the good sense to consult their natural associates. He was not so outspoken about the nobles' duty to defend the kingdom, partly because of the many episodes when they had blatantly ignored not only the best interests but also the security of the realm, and partly because he and his audience simply took it for granted that the nobles would lead the army. For example, he explained that Malcolm I had hesitated before facing a Northumbrian invader because he feared his nobles were all too young to have the strength to support him.¹¹⁵ Bellenden was more frank about the military importance of the aristocracy and summed up his attitude in an insert which followed the Scots' expulsion of Edward Balliol and his English allies:

"Thus wes the realme returnit out of Inglismentis handis be the nobill men, nochtwithstanding the absence of thair king in France: apperis, thairfore, that nobil men ar als necessar to kingis, as ony landis or riches." 116

The nobles were represented as acting in concert most often when selecting the king or deposing a tyrant when they and the kingdom were threatened. Only exceptional kings were essential for the survival of the nation, so the nobles decided during the reign of the sinful Ethus that in order to ensure the kingdom would not suffer, he had to be removed from office before his corrupt practices were passed on to his subjects:

"Maiores regni exploratum habentes eam regiminis formam saluti publicae si perseverat nocituram, corruptos regios mores obtreccionem et invidiam his quod praestantissimi in gente essent parare, ne unius culpa regnum iam satis afflictum ampliori pateret discrimini". 117

They had good cause to worry, for under an earlier tyrant, the lack of discipline and general moral laxity had so weakened the Scots that they had been defeated by the English.¹¹⁸ Under such circumstances, the nobles, banished from the court and the king's council, almost always

coalesced into an opposition party which brought the obnoxious monarch to a sudden and violent end; only a few tyrants avoided assassination by dying of battle wounds or languishing in exile or prison, and just one repented his evil ways. The nobles, watchdogs of the good of the realm, were always shown to have been justified in their opposition to the tyrants.

Boece's approval of the nobility's opposition to the monarch, which in earlier histories would have been considered treason, was a reflection of the growing concern for the respublica already noted in the Book of Pluscarden and Major's Historia. As in the Historia, respublica could mean the political state, the welfare of the nation or both; for instance, when the Scots had repulsed an invader, they were praised by their king for having fought "pulcherrime pro patria et reipublicae quiete".¹¹⁹ Bellenden translated respublica as "commounweal" more often than not, and like the original, this could have any one of three meanings. As William Stewart also used "commoun weil" and "commoun welth" in this context, it is likely that this was the accepted definition of respublica at the time. Stewart's translation was quite loose, but in his description of the reign of an early tyrant, he matched Boece's concern that Mogallus had acted:

"Agane the honour of ane prince or king,
The commoun welth and his kinrik alss bayth,
And all his liegis greit damage and skayth." 120

Boece used respublica at moments when the kingdom was endangered or in need of some kind of help. The speeches made at these times frequently bemoaned the injuries done to the commonweal¹²¹ and called for action against the sources of evil in the "republicam".¹²² Boece reported a speech alledgedly made by Bishop Wardlaw during the reign of James I which chronicled the progressive weakening of the Scottish nation to their present pitiful state, and the corresponding suffering

of the commonweal.¹²³ More often, the enemies were men, rebels or tyrants, who had deserted their duty to care for the commonweal. For his part, Bellenden was disgusted by contemporary lack of responsibility:

"And becaus nothir spirituall nor temporall estait, within this realme, hes ony affection to the common weil thairof, bot ilk man set allanerly for his awin singular way; I wil deplor na mair the calamiteis succeding daily be thair imprudence". 124

Since the person of the king was no longer inviolable, and the nobility could legitimately remove a tyrant from office, Scottish traitors were rare. The king and crown were as separate as they had been in Blind Hary's Wallace, and if a choice had to be made, loyalty to the respublica was to be preferred should any king neglect his duty.

Similarly, one of the more emotional of the many speeches of the narrative, in which Seton's wife prevented the surrender of Berwick to Edward III, put loyalty to the king and the homeland on equal footing. She warned her husband of the dishonour they would suffer should they betray their homeland and sovereign, and claimed she was proud her sons were going to die in this way:

"Mi vir, inquit, quod agas vide. Si tyranni cupiditati obsequaris, si patriae charitatem, si fide regis tui, cui iuratus es, vel mortis metu violes, noris te et tibi et patriae plurimum nociturum, sed si salva fide tua liberi nostri fortiter intereunt, id nobis non modo nunquam obfuturum sed etiam omnibus rationibus profuturum: Vide inquam quam non ex usu tuo, quam inhonesta, quam indigna generi tuo, si illa omnia perfidi latronis sceleri prodas, facturum sis. ... Utinam mihi simili modo emori pro patria liceret, aut me, quem admodum filios meos, casus aut fortuna, immo deus ipse in eam necessitatem adduxisset, ut mea morte patriam excidio liberarem". 125

It seems that defence of the homeland was also just as important as loyalty to the king.

All this combined to reduce the status of the king, subordinating his will to the good of the commonweal and, to some extent, to that of

his subjects. The erosion of the mystique surrounding the sovereign lay behind Boece's comment following the entry for Robert II's accession, "Hoc modo regnum in familiam Stuart translatum est."¹²⁶ This was hardly a glamorous introduction for a new dynasty. Furthermore, given the sovereign's new precarious position, a king now had to bolster his power in other ways besides ruling well. Foreign alliances were necessary, as Bellenden explained when expanding somewhat on Boece's citation of a letter alledgedly by Robert III:

"Forthir, beleif weill, quhen kingis and princis hes na othir beild bot in thair awin folkis, thair empire is caduke and fragill; for the mind of the commoun pepill ar evir flowand, mair inconstant than wind." 127

Similarly, a king should never choose a bride from within his own realm, as Bellenden explained in Robert III's lament upon learning of James' capture:

"Had I maryit, as othir anciant kingis, my progenitouris, of Scotland did afore, with nobil princis, and kingis of honest nationis; I had not bene lichtlit and contempnit, as I am now, with my liegis: for my eldast son is slane; and the tothir chasit of the cuntre, and, for falt of freindis, tane with ennimes. This may be exampil to al kingis efter me succeding, nevir to degrade thair majeste and blud-riall with lawar blud than thaimself: for, be that way, thay sal be lichlit and contempnit with thair awin subdittis, and in na estimation amang uncouth princis." 128

This change of attitude should also have been reflected in Boece's comparison of Wallace and Bruce as strikingly as it had been in Major's Historia, but this was not the case. Boece was very critical of Bruce's early career without ever taking the trouble to put the king on an equal footing with Wallace as Major had done. Like Major, he compared the two men, basing his judgement on their military prowess, and again, Bruce was the better man. Bellenden translated this comparison, made in Boece's preface, in his own "Epistil":

"The first, be innative desire to recover his realme, was brocht to sic calamite, that mony dayis he durst nocht appeir in sicht of pepil; bot, amang desertis, livand on

rutis and herbes in esperance of better fortoun; bot, at last, be his singulare manheid, he come to sic preeminent glore, that now, he is reput maist vaillyeant and nobil prince, that was efter or before in his empire. The othir, of small beginning, be feirs curage, and corporale strenth, not only put Inglismen out of Scotland, bot als, be feir of his auful visage, put Edward, king of Ingland, to flicht: and held all the bordouris fornence Scotland waist." 129

Although Boece was not as consistent as Major in his theories of kingship and his comparison of Bruce and Wallace, much of the mystique which had surrounded the Scottish kings had disappeared from the Scotorum Historiae. The monarchy was still the lynchpin of society, inseparable from the nation of which it was the head; nevertheless, duty to the respublica had secured a stronger hold over the individual than willingness to obey the king's every whim. Boece's hope that his own sovereign would be warned by the accounts of the Scottish kings who had overstepped their rights, which he had obliquely referred to in the preface, was bluntly stated by Stewart in his translation:

"He is ane fule the quhilk hes hard and sene
So suith exempill as befoir hes bene,
And trowis nocht sic thingis as he heiris tell,
Quhill that he tak exempill be him sell." 130

. . .

Boece's origin myth was more or less the same as that compiled by Fordun. Gaythelos was forced to flee from Greece to Egypt where he came to the aid of the Pharaoh and was rewarded with the marriage to Scota. These two led a band of Greeks and Egyptians, terrified by the plagues sent against Egypt, to Spain via Numidia. Once in Spain, Gaythelos named his band "Scots" both to placate his wife¹³¹ and in the hope that a common name might help to unite his followers:

"Totam gentem, ne sub eodem iure solum, sed etiam nomine omnes essent, Scotos ab uxoris nomine appellavit. Crevit inde populus mirumque in modum in unum coaluit." 132

The Scots travelled to Ireland at intervals, imported a king from Spain, and took control of the island. Later, Rothesaus led a number

of colonists to Albion; their descendants lived in tribes, each under its own captain, and were attacked by their neighbours, the Picts and Britons. When they sent to their Irish kinsmen, a prince, Fergus, brought help and was chosen the first king of the Albion Scots in 330 BC.¹³³ They maintained their independence until 379 AD when an alliance of Picts and Romans forced the Scots into exile.¹³⁴ After forty-three years, the Picts could not bear the Roman version of friendship any longer, and they invited the Scottish prince, Fergus II, then living in Denmark, to gather his scattered nation and return to Albion as allies. They remained at peace until the Picts refused to let the Scot, Alpin, claim their throne through his mother, Fergusiana. Despite Pictish peace proposals, the Scots waged war in support of Alpin's candidature; the Picts finally settled the issue by beheading him. This daunted all the Scots except the king, Kenneth, who had to resort to a ruse to enlist the support of his nobles in his bid for the Pictish throne. Kenneth defeated the Picts seven times in one day, and by insisting on his policy of genocide, destroyed their kingdom. The Scots thereby gained control of the whole of Scotland, presumably with the southern border at Stanmore Cross.

Boece's myth also included the histories of the other peoples who had settled in what eventually became Scotland. The men of Moray were of German origin; they had been forced into exile by the Romans and were, therefore, always prepared to fight the imperial army. They arrived in Albion while Corbredus was fending off the Romans, allied with the Scots and Picts, and were rewarded for their help with the lands the Scots had previously allotted to one of their own tribes, the treacherous Vares. As in Fordun's Chronica, the men of Moray were given Scottish wives and in the Scotorum Historiae, unlike the Chronica, the result of this was that the Moravians did not remain a distinct

nation for long.

The Usipori arrived from their homeland on the Rhine soon after their distant kinsmen, the men of Moray. The Picts considered their hatred of the Romans an asset and allowed them to settle in the region around the Tay where they soon mixed with their neighbours.

Boece did not trace the origins of the third group of people to make up his conglomerate race, the people of Annandale. Most of these seem to have been Britons, and access to Annandale was so difficult that its inhabitants were joined by many fugitives and could ignore the authority of the surrounding kingdoms. Boece claimed they were so belligerent and proud that a woman would kill her husband if he shamed her by returning from a defeat. It has to be assumed that they, too, mixed with the Scots since they were only mentioned once.

So it seems the only nation who settled in northern Albion after the Scots and kept their separate identity for any length of time were the Picts. Like Fordun, Boece gave more than one account of their journey from Scythia to Albion, and just to confuse the story further, he was unsure about the meaning of their name.¹³⁵ One point about which he was adamant was that they had arrived in Albion after the Scots; in the cosmography, he calculated that 250 years had separated the migrations of the two nations.¹³⁶

Boece's account of their stay in Albion consisted mostly of their relations with the Scots. Pictish treachery culminated in the Scots' exile, though if the Picts had had their way, the Romans would have exterminated the Scottish race.¹³⁷ The Scots and Picts joined forces to expel the Romans, but this alliance was not permanent, and once Kenneth mac Alpin had coerced his nobles into cooperating with him, the Picts were doomed. Those who had survived Kenneth's invasion had hoped for the restoration of their kingdom once the Scots had been

weakened by the luxuries which the tyrant, Donald, had introduced, but they were too divided to take advantage of the situation.¹³⁸ With the Picts slaughtered or exiled, and the other peoples absorbed, the Scots were the only inhabitants of Scotland, so for Boece, their history was the history of everyone in the kingdom.

Boece ignored one of Fordun's subdivisions of the nation, the Anglo-Scots; he refused to admit that most of these people were Scots at all and generally called them Englishmen. For Boece, the only recognized division in the Scottish nation was that between Highlander and Lowlander which was based on geography, as he explained in his "Catalogue of Regions":

"Grampius mons ... incurvus asper intractabilis a Deae fluminis ostiis qui Aberdoniam percurrit ad lacum Loumund extenditur nunc montes generali vocabulo, Scotos transmontanos a cismontanis dividentes." 139

Boece stated that Gaythelos had chosen one name for all his followers in order to help unify them, thereby discounting Fordun's scheme which traced the division back to the obstreperous Greeks and civilized Egyptians who had made up the original band.

The Scotorum Historiae was also free of the anti-Highlander tirades which had become commonplaces in most Scottish histories. On the other hand, references to Highland customs and practices were scattered through the text, and generally, this information seems to have been fairly accurate. For instance, when describing the ancient Scottish system of paying rents using cows instead of money, Boece pointed out that the Hebrideans still did this in his own day,¹⁴⁰ and his description of the footgear left behind by the Scots in Weardale, called "Hieland schone" by Bellenden,¹⁴¹ was strikingly similar to the description by his near contemporary, John Elder, who claimed to be speaking for his fellow Highlanders in his letter to Henry VIII.¹⁴²

Boece occasionally used what he called the ancient language, as when he claimed that the Grampians were "Granzebein prisca lingua Scotorum"¹⁴³ and he may have been referring to the dewars when he described the duties of the "derach".¹⁴⁴ Generally, Boece seems to have had a wider knowledge of the Highlands and their inhabitants than preceding Scottish historians, thanks, it seems likely, to his contact with the Campbells and to conversations like the one in which a Duncan Campbell had told Boece about a monster which had emerged from "Loch Garliol" in 1510.¹⁴⁵

Again in marked contrast with his predecessors, Boece had great respect for what he believed was the Highland way of life. According to Boece, the Highlanders had preserved much more of the ancient Scottish culture than their degenerate Lowland compatriots; the most important aspect of this was their maintenance of the traditional, simple way of life, uncorrupted by foreign blood or merchants, which meant that they, like their ancestors, were hardy and warlike:

"Quippe quibus minus cum exteris mercatoribus commercii est ac proinde minus molles sunt minusque peregrino sanguine corrupti, Hinc vigiliarum inediae et algoris magis patientes: audaciam quoque maiorem atque agilitatem bellicae artes meliores habent." 146

The rot had set in amongst the Lowlanders during the reign of Malcolm Canmore, and upon his brother's death, Donald Bane, who had stayed in the Hebrides and avoided contamination, was able to take over the throne easily.¹⁴⁷ With examples like this, Boece was able to use his vision of the Highlanders as Scottish noble savages to great effect in his sermons bewailing the overall weakening of his nation.

In the early books of the Scotorum Historiae, it seems as if a Scottish historian had finally recognized that the Highlands belonged to his kingdom as much as any other region. This illusion was created by the fact that until the takeover of the Pictish kingdom, Boece had

no option but to set most of his entries in Galloway, Argyll, and the west. After Kenneth mac Alpin's reign, the Lowlanders steadily regained their traditional dominance of the narrative until notices about Highlanders were limited generally to the disturbances they created either in their own region or the rest of the kingdom. Traditionally, the Moravians were the worst troublemakers, but in the Scotorum Historiae, they could only manage a close second to the Hebrideans. The latter harried their neighbours and fought the Irish; their islands were sanctuaries for fugitives from the mainland. The Hebrideans seem to have been responsible for an inordinate number of the rebellions which plagued the Scots and a disproportionate number of the leading troublemakers seem to have been named Donald. Boece, like Major, considered the islemen so intractable that he repeated the clause, alledgedly from Bruce's will, that an independent Lordship of the isles should not be tolerated, a recommendation James IV had recently put into effect. James had had to go twice into the west Highlands and three times into the Hebrides to quiet the troubles caused by the MacDonalds.¹⁴⁸ In 1499, John Mór, then Rí Innse Gall, his son and two grandsons were executed at Edinburgh,¹⁴⁹ but the crown's struggle with the Lordship was to continue for at least fifty years.¹⁵⁰ There were risings in 1513-1515, 1517-1519, and 1529-1530,¹⁵¹ all within the period from Boece's return to Scotland to the publication of the Scotorum Historiae. Furthermore, the earl of Argyll mentioned by Boece in his preface, was one of the crown agents against the Lordship,¹⁵² so once again, Boece's attitude can be partly explained by his acquaintance with the Campbells.

Despite this bias, and the usual lax reporting of events in the Highlands, Boece's greater knowledge of that region and his respect for the Highlanders brought the Scotorum Historiae closer than previous

works to being a history of all Scotland rather than just of the Lowlands.

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Boece's pride in his nation's achievements had undoubtedly led him to write his history, and his desire to enhance their reputation had led to his adopting certain people as Scots, such as the British hero, Caratacus, the Irish saints Brigid and Columbanus, and two entire British tribes, the Silures and the Brigantes. He also took up Fordun's story that two Scots had founded the school which eventually became the University of Paris.

This attitude did not prevent his recognizing the Scots' faults, either as individuals or as a nation. For instance, Boece was as unequivocally critical of Bruce's early career as he was proud of Wallace's heroics. In the traditional confrontation at Falkirk, Boece uncompromisingly had Wallace call Bruce a traitor:

"Ad ea, tua ...perfidia me quo minus patriae libertatem adversus tyrannum superbissimum pariter et crudelissimum defendam in aeternum terrere non poterit: Abi quo dignus es in malam crucem iterum patriae desertor ac proditor: invenient aliquando scelerum tuorum exitum dignum, quando minime credes, deus, nec impune toties patriae proditor laetaberis." 153

This was not followed by the usual statement that Wallace's words moved Bruce to renounce his loyalty to the English; instead, Boece left Bruce on the battlefield of Falkirk and turned his attention to Wallace's recognition and the progress of the war in Scotland. Boece was so harsh that Bellenden refused to translate his text; he gave Wallace another speech at Falkirk:

"O Robert, thy febill cwartry and sleuth, movis me to assailye so mony parellus jeopardis in defence of thy richt, and delivering the realme of Scotland fra tyranny of Inglismen." 154

Furthermore, in The History, Bruce's conversion was instantaneous:

"Thir wourdis was sa deip inprentit in Brucis hart,

that he determinit to abide na longer at the opinion of
England." 155

Bellenden admitted that it had been Bruce who had led the English in their successful assault upon the Scots at Falkirk. This confession was followed almost immediately by a rationalization for Bruce's behaviour:

"Forthir, thought Robert Bruce, quhilk wes eftir King of Scottis, was, baith at the battall of Dunbar and the battall of Falkirk, at the opinion of England, aganis the Scottis; na crime micht be imput to him thairfore". 156

He gave three excuses for Bruce's adherence to the English, and concluded this insert by comparing Bruce's dramatic change of heart to St Paul's conversion:

"On the samin maner, howbeit Robert Bruce persewit the Scottis with gret cruelte for postponing of him fra his just heritage and crown: yit fra he was maid king, he was the best prince that evir rang above the Scottis; for, thought he fand Scotland in gret miserie, and neir conquest be tyranny of Inglismen; yit he recoverit it be his singulare manheid, and left it fre, but ony clame, in gud tranquillite."157

Boece's main criticism of the Scots as a nation attacked the degeneracy he believed had affected them, and the Lowlanders particularly, since the reign of Malcolm III. In pre-Roman times, the Scots had been hunters and herdsmen, always prepared to defend their freedom and the kingdom because their only riches were their weapons:

"Scoti venandique aucupandique arte sese exercebant, pascebantque greges. In his eorum opes, arcu, missilibus, levi armatura, loriceis, alii ferreis, alii pelliceis, vulgo Nactones dicunt, usi non aliter quam aperto Marte spem posuerunt libertatis simul et regni tutandi." 158

The Scots became famous for their skill as soldiers; this was a mixed blessing, for they loved war, and given no foreign threat, they were prone to fighting amongst themselves.¹⁵⁹ This often fatal weakness notwithstanding, the proud result of the Scots' frugal life and military prowess was their independence, maintained 1856 years against great odds:

"imperium hoc iam supra millesimum octagesimum quinquagesimum sextum annum retentum est, exteriis nullis unquam subditum imperiis (quamquam interim et ab Romanis, et ab Anglis gravissimis afflicti fuimus: tantumquenon oppressi vix caput exerere potuerimus)". 160

The Scots had been defiant when the Romans had demanded sovereignty over them, and had at least once forced the world conquerors to beg for peace.¹⁶¹ And it seems the Scots were as eloquent as they were strong, for Boece transformed Tacitus' Calgacus into a Scottish king, Corbredus Galdus, and repeated the speech supposedly made by him before the battle of Mons Graupius. Admittedly, the Scots had been forced into exile, but only after their erstwhile allies had deserted them and joined forces with the Romans. The Scots could still claim to have chosen independence under these circumstances.

Their ancestors' record made his contemporaries' physical and moral state seem all the worse to Boece. He put all the blame for the initial break with the healthy, frugal way of life on the Englishmen Malcolm II had brought back with him on his return to Scotland.¹⁶² Malcolm had tried, with his nobles, to counteract the negative effect of contact with the English; their best efforts were not sufficient because human beings are, by nature, attracted to evil. Gradually, the English luxuries and language became popular, but even the weakness which had alarmed Malcolm could not be compared to the degeneracy Boece saw around him:

"Adeoque hac institutione profectum erat apud quosdam, ut quum serpere in Scotiam Anglorumque luxus simul cum lingua, cupiditasque exquirendorum ciborum atque augendarum mensarum coepisset, ad regem venerint questum de depravatione morum ac veteri regni parsimonia iam poene in desuetudinem abolita, multisque precibus regem obsecrarent ut crescens illud malum, prius quam vires suas auxisset, ac latius per iuventutem grassaretur summa cura compesceret. ... Qui si ea videant quae nunc fiunt: tantum enim ab illis veterum moribus recessum est, ut cum illi viri fuerint maxime sobrietate commendati, isti sese vorando probare velint, non terra, non mari, non caelo quicque reliqui facientes quod eorum non populetur ingluvies, quasi id maxime laudabile

sit quod cum lupis eis commune est, nec tamen possent
vincere: quid eos dicturos credas? quantum exclamatu-ros?" 163

Passing comments to this effect were scattered throughout the text; even the speeches allegedly made by the commanders before most battles repeatedly harkened back to the glories of their ancestors. Boece made his last call for the Scots to reform almost at the end of the Scotorum Historiae using Bishop Wardlaw as a mouthpiece, this time selecting the Scots' proclivity for feasting and drunkenness as his special targets.¹⁶⁴

Perhaps Boece's belief in the degeneracy of his nation was not just his version of the popular theory of the Golden Age, though his model, Livy, eloquently bewailed the moral decline of the Romans. It could have been inspired by Flodden and the humiliating end of the campaign led by the Duke of Albany when the Scots would not even cross the Tweed.¹⁶⁵ Even with Bellenden's many omissions, the continuous harping upon the need to reform is a far cry from Fordun's confidence; the earlier historian believed it necessary to establish the historical precedents for Scottish independence, yet he had never doubted their strength.

. . .

There can be no doubt that Boece was fascinated by Scotland and everything Scottish. His cosmography is outstanding evidence of this; in it, he declared that for all the Britons and later the English had occupied the more fertile parts of Albion,¹⁶⁶ he could think of no region better suited for habitation than Scotland:

"Quas si refrenare velimus non aliam regionem pestibus
minus obnoxiam magisque vitae humanae omnium rerum
exundantia experiemur accommodam." 167

Boece was not content just to survey the geographical features of each region; placenames and their changes fascinated him. According to

the Scotorum Historiae, Scottish lands in Albion had been given their original names when Fergus I allotted districts to each of his lieutenants. Boece described the boundaries of each of these districts, seven in all, named their tribes, and listed some of the antiquities in each, as he did here for Ross:

"Lutorth viro insignis nobilitatis secunda excidit sors. Venerat is ab Hibernia cum Fergusio delecta cum militum manu: qui buscum agros qui a Thana ad Nessam sunt fluvium ... obtinuit. Tenuit exinde diutissime regio Lugiam ab eo viro nominem, Lossiam maiorem eius partem nostra vocat aetas. latitudo in ea a ripa alta (Cromarte nostra aetate) ad Lochteae fluminis ostia decurrit. In hac castrum olim Alatum ad Nessae ripam magni nominis et a multis authoribus celebratum praeconis Urquhartea nunc nomine. Cuius monumenta, atque ruinae priscae artis aedificisque altitudinis magnam spectantibus praestant admirationem." 168

The archaic forms of the names were used in the Scotorum Historiae until whatever point in the chronology Boece felt was suitable for the transition to the modern, and he noted that many of them had begun to change about the time of Fergus II.¹⁶⁹ Pictish placenames, on the other hand, were replaced rather abruptly after Kenneth mac Alpin's conquest of the Pictish realm¹⁷⁰ as William Stewart briefly put it:

"All this wes done, as I richt wnderstand,
To change the name of euerie toun and land,
To put the Pechtis haill out of memorie,
Thair land, thair leid, thair dedis and thair storie." 171

Boece was much more an antiquarian than previous Scottish historians, and he discussed the Scots' customs and antiquities in as much detail as he could discover or contrive. He frequently digressed to describe old ruins or ponder about the origin of the carved monoliths like those at Aberlemno and Inchcolm.¹⁷² His account of the stone of destiny was much the same as one found in Fordun. Boece extended the history of the royal insignia by several centuries when he claimed it had been brought to Albion by the first Fergus, not Fergus II as in the

Chronica.¹⁷³ He was also determined to give Scots law the prestige of antiquity by inserting debates, decisions, and, occasionally, a series of laws published by a single king on topics ranging from the system of primogeniture to hunting regulations. This was another interest which Bellenden did not share, and as often as not, he condensed his original and omitted many of the digressions; furthermore, he ignored Boece's use of the archaic forms of Scottish placenames. For his part, anything ancient and Scottish seems to have held Boece's attention at least long enough for a passing comment.

. . .

Boece was not particularly interested in what went on outside Scotland, and most of the foreign events he did report took place in either the British or English kingdoms and often had some effect on the Scots. Other than British and English affairs, his most frequent entries from abroad dealt with contemporary intellectuals, famous ecclesiastics, and martyrs. Narrow as Boece's view of the limits of the history of the Scots may have been, Bellenden's was narrower still, and he frequently condensed or omitted these entries.

By and large, Boece's opinion of those foreigners who did enter his narrative was fairly low; the British, for example, had lost their homeland and were, therefore, an object lesson on the effects of sin. The English were, once again, the villains of the Scotorum Historiae. Boece reproduced many of the traditional insults, like David Lindsay's retort to Richard II's courtier that the English nobility were all the adulterous offspring of the servants left behind in England during the occupation of Scotland by Edward I.¹⁷⁴ As was customary, the English were the "gentem ... poene imbellem"¹⁷⁵ who, unlike the valiant Scots, had to rely on treachery as much as on strength. Boece added a few quips of his own; for instance, when

Malcolm Canmore described his faults to test MacDuff, the distraught thane lamented Malcolm's contamination by English weaknesses.¹⁷⁶ Later, Boece claimed that James I, while on his way to France, had ordered his ship to be landed in England because he could not bear his sea-sickness any longer. The English chose to treat him as a prisoner despite the letter Robert III had addressed to both the English and French kings asking for their help;¹⁷⁷ when back in Scotland, James refused English proposals for an alliance because he was well acquainted with their treachery.¹⁷⁸

As usual, Edward was singled out for attack. Boece retained the story of an Englishman's vision of Edward being dragged to Hell which Major had considered to be without foundation. For extra effect, Boece described the English king mercilessly condemning fifty Scottish children, captured at Kildrummy, to be hanged, while he was himself on his deathbed.¹⁷⁹

Boece set out to proclaim the glories of the Scots' past, not to defend their independence, so arguments against English sovereignty take up comparatively little space. He paused long enough to undermine the claim that Arthur had conquered Scotland. The Scots, he said, had been Arthur's allies against the heathen Saxons, not his subjects. He refuted the statement that Arthur had conquered most of Europe by pointing out that Justinian, not Lucius, was the contemporary emperor, and that the French record of the period chronicled their wars against the Goths without ever mentioning Arthur. Furthermore, one of the kingdoms listed amongst Arthur's conquests, Normandy, had not been founded until well after his reign. Feeling generous, Boece bemoaned the injustice of the misled British staining Arthur's reputation with these fictions.¹⁸⁰

Later, he counteracted Edward Balliol's surrender of his rights

to Edward III by denying that Balliol had anything worth surrendering. According to Boece, John Balliol had wrongfully been made king, as had been made abundantly clear during the course of the Wars of Independence; still, to ensure there would be no trouble, Bruce had sent Douglas to Balliol, then living in France, and he had renounced his claim:

"Baliolum iam tum caecum, taedioque vitae affectum, venienti ad se Iacobo, respondisse ferunt: se suapte culpa redactum in ordinem, satis compertum habere, quam etiam tum inutilis ipse Scotorum reipublicae esset: quamque necessarius Robertus: Ideo se iuste illius administratione abdicatum, eidemque Brusium peculiari dei nutu quod eam ab hostium iniuria libertatam egregie tutaretur, ad motum: depositumque semel imperium, veluti tetram pestem sibi aversandum et concedendum illi, quem dei benevolentia ad id gerendum elegisset, et propterea quicquid iuris in Scotorum haberet regnum id omne se libere in Robertum conferre ut quem unum cum posteritate ex animo foeliciter cuperet regnare." 181

As this resignation included John Balliol's heirs as well as himself, there was no need to argue against Edward III's claim to Scotland through Edward Balliol. At the same time, this story removed the need to defend Bruce's right to the throne as Major had done.

Perhaps Boece's assurance that the independence of the Scottish kingdom was well established took the sense of urgency away from his arguments. Similarly, most of his anti-English comments were not original, and often they did have "an unconvincing second-hand air";¹⁸² most of the insults had been repeated so often they seem to have lost their edge. Boece was not gentle in his treatment of the English; they were the implacable enemy whose history was a witness to their treachery. Even so, he seemed far more concerned with reforming his nation than with stirring up their righteous indignation against their southern neighbours.

. . .

Boece had returned to Fordun's origin myth, with some modifications.

For instance, he did not claim that Gaythelos had seen Ireland from Spain or that he had sent his sons to explore the land their gods had prepared for them. Such changes removed some of the parallels with the Israelites, so Boece's version of the myth did not fully restore the Scots to their place as one of God's chosen peoples. The Scots' status was somewhat lower than it had been in the Chronica, yet God and his agents still helped the Scots when they were in special need. Various occurrences indicated divine interference in Scottish affairs, as when miracles took place at the duke of Rothesay's tomb until James I was able to avenge his brother's murder.¹⁸³

When introducing Joan of Arc, Boece defended his belief in divine intervention, "Quod numine divino factum non absurdum est credere."¹⁸⁴ In return, it was every man's duty to be a pious Christian; if he failed, he had to face the consequences. As the British king, Conran, pointed out to his subjects, if they wished to defeat the Scots and Picts, they would have to return to their devotions.¹⁸⁵ Similarly, Boece pinpointed the Picts' abuse of their church as the cause of their downfall.¹⁸⁶

Such comments were more than likely not just expressions of Boece's piety, but attempts by him to make his audience wary of radical efforts to reform the church. He declared that no nation was more firmly Catholic than the Scots:

"Nam (quod cum pace et venia aliarum regnorum dixero)
nulla est (quod sciam) natio in fide catholica firmior,
nullaque in commerciorum veritate constantior." 187

Boece's orthodoxy permeated the Scotorum Historiae. The Scots were shown to have been a religious nation even before their conversion to Christianity, and good Scottish kings, pagan or Christian, were always careful to nurture religion amongst their subjects. He seldom referred to any need to reform the church system. Bellenden was rather more

outspoken about the wealth of the church which was harmful to both the commonweal and to religious practice, using Major as his authority for this.¹⁸⁸

Like his predecessors, Boece's loyalty was to the Scottish church, so most of his entries about the church were drawn from Scotland. For instance, he chronicled the Scots' successful campaign against domination by an English metropolitan and he denounced the self-serving legates who had taken advantage of the Scots' simplicity.¹⁸⁹ A small percentage of the entries were drawn from outside Scotland, some noting the careers of saints or the succession of popes. Here, as elsewhere, Boece took a fairly narrow view of what belonged in a history of the Scots, and concentrated on the Scottish church, God's aid when given to the Scots, and the necessity of maintaining orthodoxy.

. . .

Boece set out his arguments for and against a league with England in a debate which had taken place during Achay's reign when the Scots were trying to decide whether or not to accept Charlemagne's offer of an alliance. The arguments in favour of the English alliance proved unpopular, and that nation remained foremost amongst the Scots' enemies for the rest of the Scotorum Historiae.

The idea of a union, and not necessarily Major's union by marriage, was only touched on once, and then only in the cosmography and not the history proper. There, Boece commented that if God had allowed the inhabitants of Albion to live either in peace or under one king, they would be self-sufficient and invincible:

"Itaque si id quoque divinitus donum datum esset ut concordii paci inter se regna viverent aut uno sub rege haberentur, omnibus ad victum rebus affluentes non modo largiter se penu inepta possent alere: sed si quavis foris inferretur eam nullo prope negotio propulsare". 190

This may just have been a bit of bravado on Boece's part for it is followed by the claim that the inhabitants of Albion were not inferior to any nation in letters, arms, or physical strength. Later, in the history itself, he reported that David II was pleased the English prince had been rejected as his successor,¹⁹¹ and in all probability, Boece's feelings matched those of the king. The Scotorum Historiae may not have been as vehemently anti-English as a number of the preceding histories, but it certainly made the English seem unsavoury at best. Union with such a nation would not have seemed a viable alternative to Boece. Rather than draw closer to them and their luxuries, the Scots should renounce the foreign and particularly English habits to which they had become addicted, and strengthen themselves by returning to the frugality of the ancients, as typified by the Highlanders. By doing so, they would easily be able to maintain their kingdom's independence.

Conclusion

By definition, each of the authors considered in this study possessed a strong sense of nationality, recognizing that he belonged to a nation self-contained within its kingdom and set apart from all others. Even Major acknowledged this was the accepted definition of the nation when he questioned the continued division of the Scots and English by the border which he insisted was an artificial boundary because it was possible to walk dry-footed from one kingdom to the other.¹ And for these historians, their sense of nationality also entailed the belief that, whatever their faults, the Scots were superior to every other nation. This belief was reinforced by the idea, inherited from Fordun, that they were one of God's chosen peoples.

The historians' treatment of foreigners in their narratives also attests to this belief; Wyntoun's resolve to be fair to all men was ineffectual, and not even the Francophile Maurice Buchanan presented the Scots' allies as their equals. Major was exceptional in keeping anti-English sentiments from clouding his judgement; it would have done his case for a union little good to disparage the nation with which he wished the Scots would unite. For most of the others, hatred of the English came naturally to a Scot. Fordun assumed it was a sign of God's grace that Douglas had triumphed over the English so often:

"Iste Jacobus diebus suis fortis malleator fuit Anglicorum,
cui Dominus tantum gratiam in vita sua contulit, ut ubique
locorum Anglicis triumphavit." 2

All the historians, except Major, would have appreciated the attitude betrayed by the translator of "The Buke of Chess" whose geography included:

"the braid yland of brettane contenyng the kingdomes of
scotland, wales and cornwale with mony gret ducheriss
lordschippis and cites." 3

There is evidence of the historians' fear and hatred of their

neighbours, obviously, in their passages on the English themselves. It can also be found in their descriptions of those Scots who had supported what the historians considered the "English" side during the Wars of Independence. For Fordun, who like all Scottish historians had accepted the Bruce party's propaganda, those Scots who had opposed Robert Bruce or supported Edward Balliol were Scoti Anglicati.⁴ Others, like Barbour, called them Englishmen or, like Wyntoun, spoke of people being converted to obedience to the Scottish king. Altogether, such people were left in an ignominious middle ground, as support of the "English" cause against that of their rightful king amounted to the negation of their birthright.

By resurrecting Fordun's origin myth, Boece seems to have been able to present the history of the Scottish nation as the Scots wished to see it. It seems, then, that Fordun's narrative and, in particular, the illustrious ancestry he had given his nation, his emphasis on their independence, his mistrust of all foreigners and especially the English, and his claim to a long line of Scottish kings, must have become essential to the Scots' self-image. Although authors like Wyntoun did not accept the whole of Fordun's account, the themes introduced in the Chronica were to become the common denominators of Scottish historiography, and, by and large, came to be what the Scottish audience wanted to be told by its historians. Unfortunately, the reaction to Wyntoun's scepticism about Fordun's myth is not known, but when Major tried to sweep the cherished traditions aside, his work was greeted by an outcry from his disgruntled compatriots. It may be safely assumed, therefore, that this myth, or at least its predominant themes, had become part and parcel of the many factors which made up the Scots' sense of nationality in the early sixteenth century.

The historians' priorities changed along with their views of the relationships between the various constituent elements of the kingdom: the king, the aristocracy, and the rest of the nation. The changes in their attitudes towards their sovereigns are readily traceable, for Scottish historians defined their nation's history almost exclusively in terms of their kings. The royal line, however long they imagined it to be, was a source of great pride to them, and whatever their special interests, each of them built his narrative around it. Their pride manifested itself in a number of ways. Bower proclaimed that the Scottish line of kings was the best in Europe:

"Saepius mente revolvens, de cuius radice palmites
producti pullulastis intueor ex summa et excellentissima
dignitate totius Europae vos originem particulam traxisse
carnis." 5

Wyntoun also traced the ancestry of several august European families back to the offspring of Malcolm III, although he wryly pointed out that they were all the descendants of the illegitimate son of a miller's daughter.

To Barbour, Fordun, Bower, and most of the scribes who abridged one or the other of the versions of the Scotichronicon, it was not up to the nation or the nobility to decide who should take the throne. There was an element of election present in Bower's works; he noted in passing that Alexander II had been elected,⁶ and may only have mentioned that Robert II had been chosen king by the assembly at Linlithgow in order to explain Douglas' having opposed the Stewart's succession.⁷ Otherwise, in these narratives, each sovereign claimed his throne by right of inheritance, either through the ancient system of succession or primogeniture.

Like Barbour, these authors believed the kingdom and its inhabitants were entirely dependent on their king. The kingdom, crown

and sovereign were indistinguishable, so it was every Scot's duty to be faithful to the king who maintained the freedom and welfare of the kingdom. Failure to do this was treason; the Anglo-Scots were shown to have compounded their crime by being disloyal to their king. This insistence on unqualified loyalty to the monarch was strongest in the Bruce and the Chronica. It was a rather conservative attitude, contrasting sharply with the stand made by the writers of the Declaration of Arbroath. Barbour and Fordun, writing as they were in the wake of the Wars of Independence and faced with the lawlessness due, in part, to the lack of respect given to the weak Robert II, were well aware of the dangers a kingdom faced when loyalty to the king was treated lightly. In their view, the prosperity of the kingdom depended on the king and no one else. They were not interested in making bold statements of theory as the authors of the Declaration had been.

At the same time, different views of the king and the nation were developing which first appeared in the earliest of the vernacular general histories. In his metrical chronicle, Andrew Wyntoun differentiated between the king and the crown, and spoke of the role, and rights, of the estates. He also insisted that the king had certain responsibilities to his people. All this would not have been irreconcilable with the attitude of the conservative authors, had Wyntoun not accepted that a king like the Frankish Childeric could be deposed⁸ and emphasized the subjects' duty to the kingdom.

Dependent as the Book of Pluscarden was on the Scotichronicon, Buchanan was more conservative than Wyntoun. While he demonstrated the kingdom's dependence on the king, he was the first to indicate that the individual also had a duty to the respublica, the commonweal. Later, Hary made duty to the land or kingdom of Scotland the rallying

cry of his hero, Wallace. This emphasis was unavoidable since for most of the period covered in the Wallace, the man Hary believed was the true king - Bruce - was fighting for Edward I. Hary always maintained that Wallace had been loyal to Bruce, but he was determined to prove to his contemporaries that loyalty to Scotland had to come first in order to counter what the poet considered to be James III's dangerous policies.

The notion of loyalty to the respublica, which had made a brief appearance in the Book of Pluscarden, came into its own in Major's Historia, and with it came a shift in the basis of the king's power. A conscientious Scot was expected to take the good of the commonweal into account along with his duty to the king when deciding his course of action. The king himself was still the cornerstone of the kingdom, but unlike Barbour and the earlier Latin historians, Major believed the sovereign had been given his power by his nation for everyone's good. In theory, the crown was not acquired exclusively by right of succession, but by election.

A preference, like Hary's for the best interests of Scotland over duty to the king was combined by Boece with a concern for the good of the respublica. According to Boece, the good of the respublica was frequently irreconcilable with the will of the king; for him, care of the commonweal unquestionably superseded obedience to the monarch. It is, therefore, not surprising that in the Scotorum Historiae the nobles who elected each king were represented as legitimately deposing the tyrants who had forfeited their right to rule. Likewise, incidents involving treason were less frequent than they had been in the more conservative histories where almost all opposition to the king was condemned. This shift in the loyalties of his subjects meant the king had to rely on other factors, like foreign alliances, to maintain

his power. Fordun would never have dreamt such props might be necessary; for him, the strength of the king rested on the faith of his subjects.

Major and Boece had dispelled much of the mystique which had surrounded the person of the king. This, with the growth of concern for the respublica and the new theories about the king's power base, meant it was no longer necessary for a Scot to be loyal to his sovereign at all costs. Thus, the relationship between the members of the nation had changed in the century and a half or so from Barbour to Boece, and this, in turn, caused a shift in the historians' loyalties. The monarchy rather than the king had become the cornerstone of the kingdom. Relations between the king and his subjects were now hedged by rights and obligations on both sides. The later authors put the good of the respublica, as opposed to the king, first, and were not as unswerving in their devotion to the sovereign as Fordun who would never have accepted the distinction they made between the monarch, the crown, and the kingdom.

Another change in the relationship between the members of the nation came only in the Scotorum Historiae with Boece's radically different view of the Highlanders. With the exception of Barbour and Hary, most of the preceding historians had despised the Highlanders as savages. Fordun had devised a scheme which traced the division of the nation back to the Greeks and Egyptians, thereby dissociating the Lowlanders from their disreputable fellow-countrymen. Wyntoun suspected that some connection with the Picts might explain the physical stature of the Highlanders. Boece, on the other hand, rid his version of the myth of all allusions to an ancient split in the nation. More strikingly, he held up the Highlanders and their way of life as worthy of emulation, for they had kept many of the ancient

practices which the degenerate Lowlanders had deserted in favour of foreign luxuries.

The Highlanders were no longer just the poor relations of the civilized Lowlanders. Most of the previous historians had taken care to point out that they were Lowlanders, and their narratives, consequently, were very much histories of the Lowlands. The later books of the Scotorum Historiae, like the earlier histories, seldom mentioned the Highlands. But thanks to Boece's admiration for the Highlanders, and the modifications he had made to Fordun's origin myth, he was the first of the historians studied here who had some perception of a history of Scotland which embraced all Scots. Certainly, his narrative came closer to being a history of Scotland than any of the preceding works.

The defeat at Flodden seems to have forced Major and Boece to reconsider some of the assumptions of the earlier historians. Previous historians had been confident about the future of the Scots; they may have found many faults to criticize and were frequently motivated by the need to defend, or invent, historical precedents for the independence of the Scots, but they had no doubts about their nation's strength or its ability to maintain the kingdom's independence. Following Flodden, the Scots must have questioned all aspects of their position vis-a-vis England, and the arguments put forward by Major and Boece were just two sides, albeit opposing ones, in these debates. Some of the bold posturing of the earlier works is absent from their narratives; there are, for instance, no references to the Scottish kings' right to the English throne through St Margaret in either the Historia or the Scotorum Historiae. The urgency felt by these two authors is indicated by their having set out their arguments and many criticisms in works meant to reach a European audience; neither author was as careful to

protect their nation's reputation as those historians who had expected a purely Scottish audience.

Like the earlier historians, Major had no doubts that the Scots always had been able to defend their independence and could continue to do so even against suicidal odds. Taking this into account, he proposed an alternative none of the previous authors would have countenanced by claiming it would be better for the Scots to be united with the English. Major, unlike all his fellow historians, put the well-being of the people who inhabited the kingdom above the continued existence of the kingdom itself.

Major's proposal of union, like his Historia, was not particularly popular. Boece, influenced by humanism and the ideal of the Golden Age, was much more popular with his compatriots. Opposing Major, he demanded that the Scots remain independent and yet, his continual harping on the need for the Scots to reform and renounce their dependence on foreign luxuries raises some doubt about their ability to defend their kingdom. At the same time, Boece worked himself into a cleft stick, for if the Scots had been weakened, as he claimed, by luxuries imported mostly from England, then how could the English, who by this time should have become thoroughly degenerate themselves, be any threat to the Scots? Boece never tackled this problem; instead, he called on his nation to reform itself if there was to be any hope of repeating their ancestors' victories. Judging from the standards established by Boece, a union with England would have had dire effects on both the kingdom and its inhabitants.

Neither of these last two authors accepted that the Scots could simply continue as they had for centuries without some sort of change. While the earlier hisotrians had looked confidently towards the future, and even harboured hopes of the kingdom's expansion, Major and Boece

were preoccupied by how best to preserve the Scottish nation. For Major, being members of a distinct nation was something the Scots should be willing to sacrifice when a union was to their benefit; for Boece, the Scots should be willing to reform their way of life and defend their kingdom in order to continue as a separate nation.

Appendix:
Notices Relating to Bower

The following abbreviations have been used for convenience sake.

For full details, please see the bibliography.

<u>APS</u>	<u>Acts of the Parliament of Scotland</u>
<u>CAI</u>	<u>Charters of the Abbey of Inchcolm</u>
<u>CPR</u>	<u>Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers Relating to Great Britain and Ireland</u>
<u>CSS</u>	<u>Calendar of Scottish Supplications to Rome</u>
<u>Cupar</u>	<u>The Book of Cupar</u>
<u>Scotic.</u>	Goodall, <u>Scotichronicon</u>

. . .

1385 Bower was born in Haddington. (Cupar, 390)

1414 Bower was in St Andrews about the time of the foundation of the University. (Cupar, 343)

1417 29 November. Bower was appointed by papal letter to Inchcolm. (CAI, 40-41)

1418 17 April. Bower was consecrated at Dunkeld by Bishops Robert Cardine (Cardeny). (Scotic., II, 458)

1419 18 April. A papal letter to Robert de Layn allowed Inchcolm to recover its alienated goods. He summoned the following to the royal chapel of St Andrew on the next 23 February:

Lord William de Hay de Lochorwade, knight, for the land at Caldsyde with an annual rent of the mill of Lochorwade.

Sir Adam, vicar of the parish church of Craumonde, for the forty shillings due annually from that vicarage.

The tenants of Kilory for the teinds of Kilory outstanding for twenty years.

Gregory Logane for the lands in the lordship of Lestalryk.

The millers of Lundy for the fifteen shillings annual rent outstanding for thirty years. (CAI, 43-45)

- 1420 20 April. Bower asked that the apostolic letters about the abbacy of Inchcolm "be expidited on the strength of the signature of the supplication, upon which doubts have been cast. (CSS, I, 189)
- 1420 8 May. Inchcolm's complaint that Bullok held Dalgety unjustly was confirmed. (CSS, I, 195)
- 1420 21 June. A papal letter was sent to the abbot of Dunfermline instructing him to confirm king William's grant of Dalgety to Inchcolm if he finds the facts to be as stated. (CPR, VII, 144)
This letter was corrected on the same day. (CSS, I, 212-213)
- 1420 2 August. Bower's charges against the abbot of Holyrood were confirmed, but he never followed them up. (CSS, II, 4-5)
- 1420 5 September. A notarial instrument was drawn up certifying that the "Great Transumpt", which Bower had copied, was authentic. (CAI, 46-47)
- 1420 22 November. Bower's appointment to Holyrood was confirmed, it being then "void by the death outwith the Roman Court of Henry of Dryden ... or in whatsoever way: notwithstanding the abbacy of Inchcolm which he possesses and is ready to resign" (CSS, I, 232-233)
- 1420 22 November. The abbey of Inchcolm was reserved for William Bel, a canon of Scone, once it became void by "Walter Boumakar's" promotion to Holyrood. (CSS, I, 233)
- 1421 The monks of Inchcolm had to spend the summer and autumn on the due to the attacks by English pirates against which they had no defences. A monk was miraculously saved from drowning by his having heard mass before his return to Inchcolm. (Scotic., II, 467)
- 1421 26 August. Sir Alan White, chaplain of the church of Inchcolm, gave lands to the abbey. (CAI, 47-49)
- 1423 2 March, Patrick Wotherspoon's supplication to the Pope was confirmed; he had asked that Bower be excluded from Holyrood

- and Wotherspoon himself be appointed. (CSS, II, 4-5)
- 1423 7 March. A concurrent mandate was addressed to the bishop of Alet, the abbot of St Mary's, Culross, and the abbot of Inchcolm, instructing them to give a pension to Thomas Levyingstone. (CPR, VII, 290)
- 1423 12 May. A notarial instrument was drawn up stating that the transumpt of Inchcolm's charters was an authentic copy. (CAI, 50)
- 1423 24 August. A concurrent mendate was sent to the bishop of Alet and to the abbots of Balmurinnach and Inchcolm, instructing them to make an appointment to Conveth. (CPR, VII, 268)
- 1424 Bower looked through Coldingham's registers. (Cupar, 284)
- 1424 26 or 31 May. Bower was appointed tax auditor. (APS, II, 5; Scotic., II, 482) The tax took two years to collect.
- 1425 12 March. While at parliament, Bower witnessed the arrest of the Albany Stewarts. (Balfour-Melville, James I, 120fn.)
- 1426 Bower may have witnessed a duel in Edinburgh. (Scotic., II, 488)
- 1426 17 March. Bower had an instrument drawn up to record that the bishop of Dunkeld would not allow the papal letter about the church of Dalgety to be read. (CAI, 51)
- 1426 11 July. Letters conservatory were addressed to the bishop of Glasgow, and the abbots of Arbroath and Inchcolm, for the abbot and convent of Scone. (CPR, VII, 21)
- 1427 1 May. The abbey of Inchcolm and the bishop of Dunkeld agreed to settle their controversy over the church of Dalgety. (CSS, II, 155)
- 1427 22 July. A notarial instrument was drawn up concerning Inchcolm's dispute with Master Adam de Gordoun, vicar of Crammond. (CAI, 53)
- 1428 15 November. The dispute between Inchcolm and Sir William de Erth over the rents from the mills of Fordell and other holdings, was settled. (CAI, 54-55)
- 1429 Bower probably witnessed the Lord of the Isles' surrender at

- Holyrood; the Lady Mariota was sent to Inchcolm for safe-keeping. (Scotic., II, 490)
- 1429 27 February. Inchcolm received a bull of protection; the list of its churches included Dalgety. (CAI, 56)
- 1429 22 August. A concurrent mandate was addressed to the abbot of Inchcolm and the deans of Brechin and Dunblane allowing Edward de Lawdere to visit his churches by deputy. (CPR, VIII, 147)
- 1429 30 December. James I asked the pope to ratify a gift of lands made to Inchcolm by John de Nudre and his wife which the abbey feared Nudre's heirs would question. (CSS, III, 68)
- 1430 28 October. Inchcolm petitioned the pope to have Mariota, who had assigned goods to the abbey for her support, removed from Inchcolm and her goods returned. (CSS, III, 148)
- 1431 15 October. Bower was appointed tax collector. (APS, II, 20)
- 1432 The countess of Ross left Inchcolm. (Scotic., II, 490)
- 1432 29 October. A concurrent mandate was addressed to the bishop of Macon, the abbot of Inchcolm and the official of St Andrew ordering them to give John Feldew his benefice. (CPR, VIII, 399-400)
- 1433 Bower was appointed tax auditor for the levy to pay for the Princess Margaret's marriage. (Scotic., II, 482)
- 1433 June. Bower spoke against the proposed alliance with England in the General Council's debate. (Scotic., II, 499)
- 1433 23 August. A concurrent mandate was addressed to the bishop of Dunkeld, the abbot of Inchcolm, and the dean of Dunkeld, ordering them to recover certain lands for the bishop of Brechin which his predecessors had alienated. (CPR, VIII, 458)
- 1434 10 January. Bower was appointed to a committee of causes by parliament. (APS, II, 22-23)
- 1435 January. Bower probably witnessed the deprivation of the earl of

March in parliament. (Duncan, James I, 21)

1435 1 February. A notarial instrument was drawn up stating that

Bower had spoken to Sir John Forrester, chamberlain of Scotland, about Hugh Scot's possession of Inchcolm's tenement in Kinghorn.

(CAI, 56)

1435 23 March. Bower acted as a witness to a public instrument from

Donald Macnachtan at Tulitum. (Registrum Episcopatus Brechinensis I, 85)

1435 19 July. Bower was one of the tax collectors who received

Dunfermline's contribution at Stirling. (Exchequer Rolls, IV, 654)

1435 10 November. A concurrent mandate was addressed to the bishop

of Orkney and the abbots of Holyrood and Inchcolm, stating that John Bowmaker was to be paid a pension. (CPR, VIII, 452)

1436 6 March. Bower was appointed administrator of Holyrood. (Cameron,

The Apostolic Camera, 20)

1436 21 March. Bower's proctor informed the camera that Bower would

pay the common services for Holyrood if he should ever have

peaceful enjoyment of that appointment. (Cameron, The Apostolic Camera, 21)

1437 11 March. A concurrent mandate was addressed to the abbots of

Balmurino and Inchcolm, and the archdeacon of Hainault in Liege,

ordering them to give Alexander Bowmacar a benefice. (CPR, VIII, 670)

1437 27 May. A concurrent mandate ordered a decision be enforced (CPR, VIII, 623)

1438 28 February. A concurrent mandate was addressed to the abbots of

Cupar and Arbroath describing the trouble at Holyrood. The two

recipients were to investigate and report to the pope so that

the matter could be settled before Holyrood was harmed by a long controversy. (CPR, VIII, 672)

1440 28 May. A concurrent mandate was addressed to the bishop of

- Ossero, the abbot of Inchcolm, and the official of Glasgow,
stating that part of the gift to David Bertram was void. (CPR, IX, 97)
- 1440 4 October. A concurrent mandate addressed to the bishop of
Zamora, the abbot of Inchcolm, and the official of Glasgow,
stated that Stephen Ker was to be given a benefice. (CPR, IX, 145-146)
- 1441 3 April. Bower was a witness to a royal charter during a general
council at Edinburgh. (APS, II, 57)
- 1441 8 June. James II erected the lands of the abbey of Inchcolm
into a barony to help them to recover from the damages done to
the abbey by pirates. (CAI, 57-58)
- 1441 19 August. Bower witnessed a royal charter while at Stirling.
(The Register of the Great Seal, II, 169)
- 1441 7 November. Bower had begun writing, and had reached Book I,
chapter 8. (Scotic., I, 10)
- 1442 8 February. Bower witnessed a royal charter while at Stirling
for the general council. (APS, II, 58)
- 1442 18 July. A concurrent mandate was addressed to the bishop of
Dunkeld and the abbots of Lindores and Inchcolm, to confirm the
provisions made for the restoration of the choir of the parish
church of Perth. (CPR, IX, 267)
- 1442 30 September. Bower wrote the entry on James Kennedy, bishop of
St Andrews in Book VI sometime after this date. (Scotic., I, 366)
- 1443 Bower wrote the chapters in Book XVI about schisms. (Scotic., II, 479)
- 1443 13 July. A concurrent mandate was addressed to the abbots of
Holyrood and Inchcolm, and to the archdeacon of St Andrew,
instructing them to hear an appeal made against the bishop of
Aberdeen. (CPR, IX, 384)
- 1444 Bower reached Book XI, chapter 14. (Scotic., II, 151)
- 1444 16 October. Sometime after this date, and presumably before the

- new year, Bower wrote Book XVI, chapter 16. (Scotic., II, 490)
- 1444 15 December. A concurrent mandate was addressed to the bishop of Dunkeld, the abbot of Inchcolm and the archdeacon of Hainaut instructing them to absolve John Redhuche and appoint him to a benefice. (CPR, IX, 511)
- 1445 6 March. A concurrent mandate was addressed to the abbot of Inchcolm and the prior of St Andrews, instructing them to hear an appeal over a benefice. (CPR, IX, 443)
- 1445 2 July. Bower was appointed an auditor of causes and complaints by parliament in Edinburgh. (APS, II, 60)
- 1445 3 July. The king confirmed the decision of the committee of causes. (Historical Manuscripts Commission, 15th Report, Appendix, Part viii, 45-46)
- 1445 16 July. Bower was instructed to confirm the appropriation of a benefice. (CPR, IX, 567)
- 1446 13 July. A concurrent mandate was addressed to the bishops of Concordia and Brechin and the abbot of Inchcolm stating that Michael Gray's appointment to a benefice was void. (CPR, IX, 570-571)
- 1448 13 August. A concurrent mandate was addressed to the bishop of Glasgow and the abbots of Paisley and Inchcolm, stating that the Pope was granting John, the bishop of Dunkeld, the title of doctor as if he had graduated from St Andrews. (CPR, X, 20-21)
- 1449 19 May. A concurrent mandate was sent to the bishop of Bergamo and the abbots of Paisley and Inchcolm stating that William Hoge was to be given a pension. (CPR, X, 194, 198-199)
- 1448-1449. In the entry for Richard II's invasion in 1385, Bower commented that at the time he was writing he felt he was at death's door. (Cupar, 390)
- 1449 24 December. Bower died. (James, A Descriptive Catalogue, I, 194)

Maps and Tables

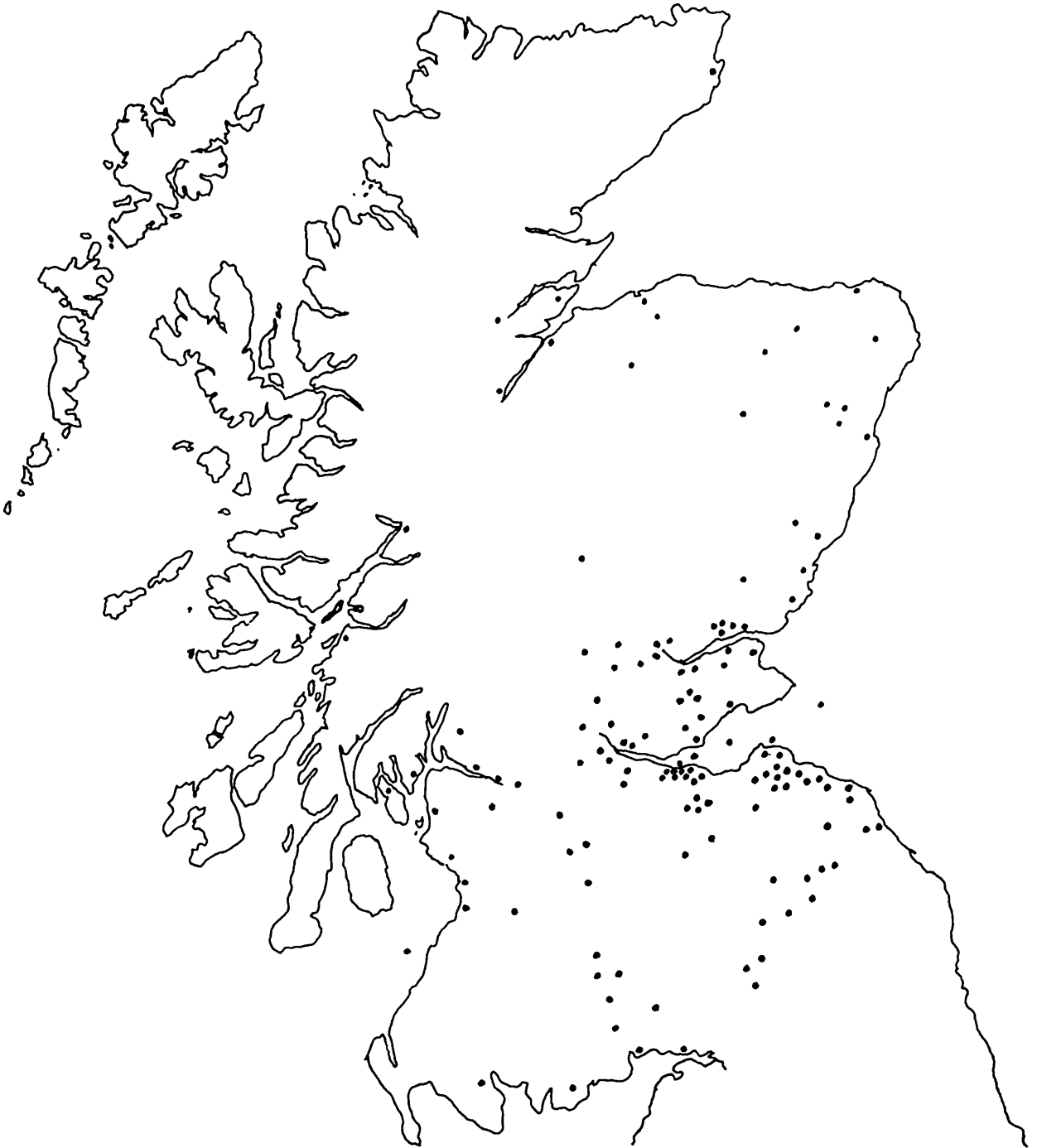
MAP 1

Placenames in the Chronica
(excluding the lists of the Hebrides and
the islands of Orkney)



MAP 2

Placenames used by Bower



Other Placenames used by Bower

<u>Islands</u>	<u>Districts</u>
Ailsa Craig	Angus
Almeslache	Annandale
Bass Rock	Buchan
Bute	Cunningham
Cumbræ	Ettrick Forest
Fotheray	Garioch
Gigha	Kyle
Inchmernok (Inchmarnock)	Lamberkin (a wood near Perth)
Iona	Lennox
Irte (Hirte)	Lochaber
Islay	Lothian
Jura	Mar
Kerrera	Mearns
Lewis	Nithsdale
Mainland	Solway sands
Oransay	Strathnaver
Orkney	Teviotdale
Rhum	Torwood
St Bassus of Pleda Isle (?Pledda)	
St Meronici Isle	
St Meronici Isle	
Schonay (Shuna)	
Skye	
Tiree	

TABLE 1Examples of Key Words Used by FordunGENS

Gaythelos was concerned with gentis suae tuitionem (vol.I, p.14)

Fergus agreed to rule acephala gens suae nationis (I,29)

Scocia was named for Scotorum gentibus, quibus incolitur (I,40)

Insulana ... sive montana, ferina gens est (I,42)

propriae gentes (I,48)

genti Moraviae (I,58)

exteris gentibus (I, 168)

At the birth of William's son, there was great rejoicing gentis suae, et totius regni Scotorum (I,275)

POPULUS

Scotorum populum (I,7)

populus Aegyptus (I,11)

Gaythelos taught populum suum (I,17)

clero quam populo (I, 293)

magnates clerus et populus (I, 293)

multitudine populi (I, 347)

populi Dei (I, 379)

NATIO

natio Scotorum (I,4)

Scoticae nationis (I, 23)

propriae nationi (I, 42)

Johannes de Vinea, natione Burgundus (I, 383)

TERRA

God made the world, et in ejus regione media terram posuit (I,4)

terris Britonum (I, 45)

terrarum indiginae (I, 166)

terra opened and swallowed Gregory's army (I, 170)

Robert Bruce went to terras suas in Anglia (I, 366)

PATRIA

Julius Caesar adversus patriam ... venit cum exercitu (I, 49)

servituti se patriamque pessumdederint (I, 211)

comitis Moraviae ... patriam depraedando apud Strucathoch(I, 254)

TABLE 1, continuedREGNUM

Scoti ... regnum semper proprium habuerunt (I, 19)

regni Scotorum Albionsium (I, 45)

regni coelestis (I, 121)

regni coronam (I, 131)

God is the regnorum rector (I, 139)

Donald encouraged peace with vicinis ... regnis et regibus (I, 157)

regnis principibus (I, 181)

alieno regno (I, 198)

regni populum (I, 204)

Deo dare tibi (Edgar of Scotland) regnum (I, 224)

regni majoribus (I, 256)

Ecclesiastics learned to care for suis privilegiis et regni libertatibus
(I, 288)

A legate acted contra privilegia regis et regnis Scociae (I, 298)

Decide the succession by consuetudinis regni (I, 313)

communitatis regni Scociae (I, 332)

regni indigenarum (I, 350)

Alexander Ramsay fought for regi et libertati regni (I, 366)

The king purgato ... ab alienigenis regno (I, 391)

TABLE 2

References in the Book of Cupar to chapters
in the Scotichronicon

1. The first column contains the number of the chapter in the Book of Cupar in which the reference to the omitted chapter of the Scotichronicon is made; for example, in Book II, chapter 4, Bower wrote, "De ulterior crudelitate eius vide Scotichronicon in magno libro II, capitulo xxxiii."
2. The second column contains the chapter references as given in the Book of Cupar, whether or not the number of the omitted chapter is the same as that given in Goodall's edition.
3. Column three contains the subjects of the omitted passages.
4. Column four gives the number of the omitted chapter as found in Goodall; these are given only if they differ with those given in the Book of Cupar.

<u>Book of Cupar</u> (book-chapter)	Omitted Chapters	Subject	Goodall
I-2	X-6 II-10	islands islands	
I-16	I-34/36	demons	I-33/36
II-4	II-28	cruelty of the Romans	II-27
II-8	II-32/33	the destruction of Palestine	II-31/32
II-23	II-50/53	a life of St Katherine	II-49/52
III-30	III-31	Merlin's penance	
IV-20	III-54	Lucretia and Tarquin	III-55
V-10	IV-11/13	Pictish kinglist	
V-16	VII-19/20	Charles' vision	
VII-23	VII-44/47	The Virgin Mary and "Ave"	

TABLE 2 continued.

<u>Book of Cupar</u> (book-chapter)	Omitted Chapters	Subject	Goodall
VIII-7	V-45/59	Ailred's lament for David I	
XIV-6	IX-34	the abbot of Kinloss	IX-35
XIV-23	IX-51/53	monastic life	IX-50/52
XV-11	X-12/13	indulgences	
XVI-7	VIII-27	miscellany	
XXIII-2	XII-10	Berengarius	
XXVI-6	XIII-6/11	Guido's ghost	
XXVII-8	XIII-20	Douglas' epitaph	
XXXVI-17	XV-20 XVI-22	the papacy	
XXXIX-3	XVI-3/4	schism	
XXXIX-5	XVI-6/8	the last schism	
XXXIX-21	XVI-18	the Carthusians	
XXXIX-25	XV-20 XVI-22	the Lollards	
XL-7	VI-27/29	St Waltheus	
XLI-15	VI-27/29	lying	VI-38/40
XLI-21	X-23	ecclesiastics and princes	

TABLE 3The Chapters of Book VII as found in the Book of Cupar

Chapter of Book VII	Subject	Book and Chapter of <u>Cupar</u>
2	Predestination	III-3
3	St Germanus	III-6
4	St Patrick	III-12
5	Clovis	III-22
5	Boethius	III-23
5	St Anthony	III-25
6	mountain moves	III-25
7	a Northumbrian's return from the dead	IV-9
8	this man's visions	IV-10
9	pestilence, the litany	IV-11
10	Saracens at Constantinople	IV-16
11	earthquakes	IV-17
12	a martyr	IV-17
12	the Emperor banned images, two stars appear	IV-20
12	Charlemagne	IV-26
12	Charlemagne's mother	IV-27
13	Charlemagne	IV-27
14	the French	IV-30
15	Charles Calvi	V-9
16	Charles Calvi	V-9
17	locusts	V-15
17	wars in France	V-16
18	civil war in Germany	V-16
22	Northmen	V-20

TABLE 3 continued

Chapter of Book VII	Subject	Book and Chapter of <u>Cupar</u>
23	Normans invade England	V-21
24	the Normans	V-22
25	church affairs	V-25
25	Peter Damian	VI-1
25	Peter Damian	VI-2
25	famine	VI-7
26	the vengeance of God	VI-8
27	Pope Gregory	VI-16
28	Pope Gregory	VI-17
29	woman of Beverly	VI-28
30	a boy and his statue	VI-29
31	William Rufus	VII-11
31	William crowned	VII-11
31	William's cruelty	VII-14
41	woman of Laudon	VII-18
32	William Rufus	VII-19
33	William Rufus	VII-19
34	William Rufus	VII-20
41	Council of Clarimont	VII-21
42	the Blessed Virgin	VII-21
42	Sabbath dedicated to Mary	VII-22
43	Sabbath dedicated to Mary	VII-22
44	Sabbath dedicated to Mary	VII-22
48	Sabbath dedicated to Mary	VII-23
49	Sabbath dedicated to Mary	VII-23
35	the Turks	VII-24

TABLE 3 continued

Chapter of Book VII	Subject	Book and Chapter of <u>Cupar</u>
36	travel	VII-24
50	a vision	VII-28
51	earthquake in Jerusalem	VII-29
53	omens	VII-29
51	honour your parents	VII-29
54	St Bernard	VII-31
54	omens	VII-32
54	earthquakes	VII-33
55	the Crusades	VIII-1
56	winter	VIII-1
56	Emperor Henry	VIII-2
57	Emperor Henry	VIII-2
57	St Bernard	IX-16
58	the French	IX-16
58	St Bernard	IX-17
59	St Bernard	IX-18
60	St Malachy's death	IX-20

TABLE 4Kinglists in the Book of Cupar

The "Ancient Verse"

The Chronica

Fergus	Fergus, son of Erth
Eugenius	Eugenius
	Dongardus
Constancius	Constantius
Congal	Congal
Gonran	Gonran
Ethodius	Eugenius (Eochidus Hebdre)
	Conuallus
	Kynatel
	Aydanus
	Kennethus Keyr
	Eochidus Buyd
	Ferchardus
Donaldus	Donaldus Brek
Ferquhirt	Ferchardus Fode
Maldonius	Maldwynus
Eugenius	Eugenius IV
Kyneth	
Ferchard	
Eogen	Eugenius V
Ambrilleth	Amrikelleth
Eogen	Eugenius VI
Murdach	Murdacus
Hedfin	Ethfyn
Nechtán	

TABLE 4 continued

The "Ancient Verse"	The <u>Chronica</u>
	Eugenius VII
Fergusius	Fergus
Selwachius	Selwachius
Athaius	Achaius
Conuallus	Conuallus
Dongallus	Dungallus
Alpinus	Alpinus
Kenedus	Kennethus

TABLE 5The Genealogy in the Extractis

<u>Cupar</u>	<u>Extractis</u>
Alexander	alaster
makalexander	makalester
macwillam	m ^c wilzeame
machenri	makhenrye
machenri	makhenrye
macdavid	makdaye
malcolmi	makmolcallum
duncan	makdonich
beatrice	makbetrice
malcolmi	Ennynmalcoillum
kenath siue kenedi	makkeneide
alpini	makalphyne
ethachi	make taich
	make thafinde
ethdachi	make thachi
douenaldi brek	makdouile breik
othae buid	makthochebiude
edaim	makedannu
cobran	makcobran
donengard	makdonengarde
fergusii magni	makfergusmoir
erth	
eteharmuremor	
engusafich	makengusasych
fethelinech aslingich	makfethelmith aslingith

TABLE 5 continued

<u>Cupar</u>	<u>Extractis</u>
enegussa buthui	makengusa buthyne
fetelmeth romoach	makfethelmich romach
sencormath	maksencormacht
cruichlinch	makcruch lynche
findachar	makfyndakere
abirkerre	makabirkery
ethac andoch	makechach andoch
fiathrath cacinail	makfyacraiche catinale
eoddach ried	makeodache rede
coner	makconer
mogolama	makmogoloma
lugthag etholach	makluthak etholaiche
corbreceangring	makcorbie crangryng
daridiomore	makdaridromore
corbrefindmore	makcorbrefindmoire
coneremor	makconremore
ederskeol	makedare skeole
ewen	makewene
eliela	makeliela
iair	makiaire
dechach	makdechach
sin	makfin
rosin	makrosin
ther	maktheir
retheri	makrechery
roweni	makrowenie

TABLE 5 continued

<u>Cupar</u>	<u>Extractis</u>
arindil	makarmdil
mane	makinanen
fergusii	makfergus
feredach sive ferchare	makferidach sive ferchaire

TABLE 6

Examples of key words used by Boece and Bellenden
(examples from the Mar Lodge translation are in brackets)

GENS

<u>gentium</u> (p.1, line 1)	pepil (vol.I, p.1) (nacions)
<u>gentem</u> (4,55)	pepill (I,10) (ane nacioun)
<u>cognata gente</u> (6,26)	our aunciant progenitouris (I, 15) (our ald freyndis)
<u>gentes quae proximas sedes</u> <u>tenuere</u> (18, 47)	partis adjacent (I, 43)
<u>pro gente, pro regno,</u> <u>libertate</u> (8, 47)	his realme and liberte (I, 105)
<u>Ultimas Albionis gentes</u> <u>toties</u> (62, 18-19)	the last Ilis of Albion (I, 137)
<u>gentis</u> (65, 46)	all pepil under his empire (I, 143)
<u>Ordovices rebellem gentem</u> (69, 8-10)	Annandale (I, 151)
<u>a Scotorum gentis origine</u> (118, 68-69)	of this realme, fra the first beginning thairof (I, 254)
<u>gens</u> (153, 26)	realm (II, 29)
<u>eius gentis</u> (336, 27)	kinnismen (II, 441)

POPULUS

<u>populis</u> (IIII, 48)	pepill (I, XXII)
<u>cognato populo</u> (3, 35)	Scottis (I, 7) (his freyndlie pepill)
<u>confoederati populi</u> (25, 69-70)	confiderat pepill (I,60)
<u>populos</u> (93, 79)	the cuntre (I, 201)
<u>Scotorum populi</u> (233, 66)	realme (II, 214)
<u>populus</u> (299, 50)	in al partis (II, 353)

NATIO

<u>natio</u> (XX, 60-61)	pepill (I, LXII)
(men) <u>Atholicis natione</u> (186, 55)	of Athole (II, 116)

TABLE 6 continuedNATIO continued

<u>natio</u> (187, 52)	nation (II, 117)
<u>genus ac nationem</u> (266, 40-41)	pepil (II, 280)
<u>Anglos natione</u> (266, 40)	Inglismen (II, 280)
<u>Hispanus natione</u> (289, 18)	Spanyeart (II, 332)
(Gillespic of) <u>natione</u> <u>Roseni</u> (293, 43)	Gillespy Ros (II, 340)
<u>singulis nationibus</u> (297, 78-79)	every clan (II, 349)

PATRIA

<u>patriam</u> (1, 15)	native cuntre (I, 1) (awne cuntre)
<u>pro patria, pro libertate</u> (32, 37)	for defence of thair realme and liberte (I, 75)
<u>patriae</u> (122, 6-7)	landis (I, 261)
<u>patriam</u> (150, 70)	awin cuntre (II, 44)
<u>patriae</u> (146, 68)	realm (II, 36)
<u>patriam tuam</u> (261, 65)	thy pepil (II, 270)
<u>patria tua ac regnum</u> (279, 68)	realme and cuntre (II, 312)
<u>dux liberandae patriae</u> (305, 76)	Governour of Scotland (II, 369)
<u>patriae libertatem</u> (307, 46)	thy richt (II, 373)
<u>patriam</u> (314, 57)	hame (II, 392)
<u>pro libertate patriae</u> (345, 75)	in defence of your realme and liberte (II- 466)

MISCELLANY

<u>Argadi</u> (9)	men of Argyle (I, 27)
<u>Ordovices</u> (63, 36)	inhabitantis thairof (I, 139)
<u>rei Scoticae</u> (65, 66)	his realme (I, 144)
<u>Hebridiani sanguinis tibicinis</u> (85, 42)	menstrale of the Ilis (I, 187)

TABLE 6 continuedMISCELLANY continued.

<u>alienigenus</u> (87, 48)	uncouth blude (I, 191)
<u>nobili Hebridiani sanguinis</u> <u>viro</u> (140, 49-50)	gentilman of the Ilis (II, 22)
<u>nostris</u> (145, 63)	our folkis (II, 34)
<u>commilitones</u> (162, 72)	gud companionis (II, 70)
<u>Hebridiani</u> (190, 75)	pepill of the Ilis (II, 126)
<u>alieno agro</u> (251, 41)	uncouth realme (II, 246)
<u>montana Scotiae inhabitans</u> (295, 54)	Hielandman (II, 344)
<u>genus</u> (316, 43)	nation (II, 396)
<u>duae tribus montanae</u> (347, 48)	two clannis of Irsmen (II, 469)

Footnotes

Introduction

1. Cosmo Innes, ed., The Story of the Brus writ be Master Johne Barbour, Spalding Club (Aberdeen: 1856) 3.
2. Matthew P. McDiarmid, Hary's Wallace (Vita Nobillissimi Defensoris Scotie Wilelmi Wallace Militis), Scottish Text Society (Edinburgh: 1968) I, 1.
3. William F. Skene, ed., Johannis de Fordun Chronica Gentis Scotorum (Edinburgh: 1871) I, 387.
4. John Major, Historia Maioris Britanniae tam Angliae quam Scoticae ... (Paris: 1521) p.iii.
5. John Bellenden, The History and Chroniclis of Scotland ... (Edinburgh: 1821) II, 515.
6. P. Hume Brown, Surveys of Scottish History (Glasgow: 1919) 165.
7. See:
Harry Elmer Barnes, A History of Historical Writing (New York: 1942)
Antonia Gransden, Historical Writing in England c.550 to c.1307 (London: 1974)
James Westfall Thompson, A History of Historical Writing (New York: 1942)
8. P.A. Lineham, "A Fourteenth Century History of Anglo-Scottish Relations in a Spanish Manuscript," Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research, XLVIII (May 1975) 121.
9. Skene, Fordun, I, 332.
10. Francis J. Amours, ed., The Original Chronicle of Andrew of Wyntoun, Scottish Text Society (Edinburgh: 1914) IV, 21.
For instance, Wyntoun mentioned Huchown of the Aule Realle's Gest Historyalle.
11. See:
Marjorie O. Anderson, Kings and Kingship in Early Scotland (Edinburgh: 1973) for information on other historical works which are no longer extant.
12. G. W. S. Barrow, "Lothian in the First War of Independence, 1296-1328", SHR, LV (1976) 162.

Chapter 1

1. A. A. M. Duncan, "Hector Boece and the Medieval Tradition" Scots Antiquaries and Historians, Abertay Historical Society, No.16 (1972) 11.
2. Skene, Fordun, I, 3.
3. Walter Bower, Codex Hayanus sive Liber Monasterii Beatis Mariae de Cupro, NLS, ADV. MS. 35.1.7, fo.1.

4. Ibid., fo.1.
5. Ibid., fo.1. Bower must not have considered the Gesta Annalia part of the Chronica. He incorporated the Annalia's entries into his own narratives, but he did not give Fordun any credit beyond the entries in Book VI about England.
6. NLS, ADV. MS. 35.6.7, fo.1.
7. British Library, Royal MS. 13.E.X, fo.28.
8. D.E.R. Watt, in a circular dated 5 October 1977.
9. Thomas Gale, Historiae Britannicae et Anglicanae Scriptores XX (Oxford: 1691) "Praefacio ad Lectorem".
10. Thomas Hearne, Johannis de Fordun Scotichronicon Genuinam ... (Oxford: 1722) xxxiv.
11. Ibid., lxxviii-lxxix.
12. Ibid., lxxviii.
13. Ibid., cxiii.
14. Ibid., lxxxii.
15. Ibid., cxxxvi-cxxxvii.
16. Ibid., cxlviii.
17. Walter Goodall, ed., Joannis de Fordun Scotichronicon cum ... Continuatione Walteri Boweri (Edinburgh: 1759) i-ii.
18. Skene, Fordun, I, 251.
19. Ibid., I, xiv.
20. D.E.R. Watt, in A Biographical Dictionary of Scottish Graduates (Oxford: 1977) 575, says Wardlaw was made cardinal in 1383.
21. Skene, Fordun, I, xxxiii.
22. Ranald Nicholson, Scotland: The Later Middle Ages (Edinburgh: 1974) 36.
23. Skene, Fordun, I, xxxiii.
24. Ibid., I, xxxiii.
25. Rotuli Scotiae in Turri Londinensi et in Domo Capitulari Westmonasteriensi Asservati (London: 1814) I, 877.
26. Ibid., I, 808-809.
27. Ibid., I, 958. Roger Wyemis and Master John Peblys each received this kind of safe-conduct.

28. For more information on Wardlaw's travels see the Rotuli Scotiae and Watt's Biographical Dictionary.
29. Watt, Dictionary, 17.
30. Ibid., 551-555.
31. Nicholson, Scotland, 277.
32. William Ferguson, Scotland's Relations with England: A Survey to 1707 (Edinburgh: 1977) 21.
33. G.W.S. Barrow, "The Aftermath of War: Scotland and England in the Late Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries", Trans. Royal His. Soc., 5th Series, XXVIII (1978) 105.
34. Skene, Fordun, I, 38.
35. Ibid., I, 22.
36. Ibid., I, 152.
37. Ibid., I, xxxviii.
38. Ibid., I, 387.
39. Ibid., I, 388.
40. Lineham, "A Spanish Manuscript", 116,117.
41. Ibid., 116.
42. Skene, Fordun, I, 147.
43. Ibid., I, 67.
44. Ibid., I, 164.
45. Ibid., I, 376.
46. Ibid., I, 42.
47. Ibid., I, 58.
48. Ibid., I, 360.
49. Ibid., I, 330.
50. Ibid., I, The Egyptians are described as a gens on p.18 and as a populus on p.11; the Picts are one of the gentes on p.66, and are a populus on p.25.
51. Ibid., I, 42.
52. Ibid., I, 42.
53. Ibid., I, 68.

54. Thesauris Lingua Latinae (Lipsiae: 1925-34) VI, 1842-1865.
55. Marc Bloch, The Historian's Craft, trans. Peter Putnam (Manchester: 1976) 34.
56. Skene, Fordun, I, 203.
57. Ibid., I, 203.
58. Ibid., I, 211.
59. Ibid., I, 128.
60. Ducnan, "Hector Boece", 5.
61. Skene, Fordun, I, 18.
62. Ibid., I, 335.
63. Ibid., I, 172.
64. Ibid., I, 204.
65. Ibid., I, 266.
66. Ibid., I, 208.
67. Ibid., I, 221.
68. Ibid., I, 205.
69. Ibid., I, 297.
70. Ibid., I, 275.
71. Ibid., I, 119.
72. Ibid., I, 257.
73. Ibid., I, 307.
74. Ibid., I, 328. Fordun never mentioned Andrew Moray except to report that Andrew Moray, father of Andrew the regent, died at Stirling Bridge.
75. Ibid., I, 328.
76. Ibid., I, 328.
77. Ibid., I, 329.
78. Ibid., I, 304-305.
79. Ibid., I, 337.
80. Ibid., I, 341.

81. Ibid., I, 197-203.
82. Ibid., I, 200.
83. Ibid., I, 240.
84. Ibid., I, 387.
85. Ibid., I, 175.
86. Ibid., I, 184.
87. Ibid., I, 135.
88. Ibid., I, 256.
89. Ibid., I, 340.
90. Ibid., I, 326.
91. Ranald Nicholson, "David II, the historians and chroniclers"
SHR, XLV (1966) 76, 75.
92. Ibid., 75.
93. Nicholson, Scotland, 184.
94. Skene, Fordun, I, 387-388.
95. Duncan, "Hector Boece", 5.
96. Skene, Fordun, I, 169.
97. Ibid., I, 224.
98. Barrow, "Lothian", 169.
99. James Ferguson, The Declaration of Arbroath (Edinburgh:1970) 8.
100. G.W.S. Barrow, lecture, 8 July, 1977, Anglo-American Historical Conference.
101. Geoffrey of Monmouth, The History of the Kings of Britain,
trans. Lewis Thorpe (Harmondsworth: 1966) 65.
102. Ibid., 75.
103. Ibid., 100-101.
104. Ibid., 124.
105. Ibid., 204, 219.
106. Ibid., 189.
107. Skene, Fordun, I, 332.

108. Goodall, Scotichronicon, II, 215,216.
109. Ibid., II, 215.
110. E.J. Cowan, "Myth and Identity in Early Medieval Scotland",
Scottish Historical Conference, 1976.
111. Goodall, Scotichronicon, II, 216.
112. E.L.G. Stones, ed. and trans., Anglo-Scottish Relations 1174-1328:
Some Selected Documents (Edinburgh: 1965) 142.
113. Ferguson, Declaration, 6.
114. Cowan, "Myth".
115. Duncan, "Hector Boece", 3.
116. Skene, Fordun, I, 4.
117. Ibid., I, 7.
118. Ibid., I, 9.
119. Ibid., I, 12-13.
120. Ibid., I, 13.
121. Ibid., I, 14.
122. Ibid., I, 15.
123. Ibid., I, 16.
124. Ibid., I, 19.
125. Ibid., I, 19.
126. Ibid., I, 21.
127. Ibid., I, 21-22.
128. Ibid., I, 22.
129. Ibid., I, 24.
130. Ibid., I, 25.
131. Ibid., I, 25.
132. Ibid., I, 27.
133. Ibid., I, 29.
134. Ibid., I, 73-74.
135. Ibid., I, 74-75.

136. Ibid., I, 81.
137. Ibid., I, 87.
138. Ibid., I, 90.
139. Ibid., I, 147.
140. Ibid., I, 35.
141. Ibid., I, 8.
142. E.J. Cowan, "The Scottish Chronicle in the Poppleton Manuscript", for the Innes Review, 26.
143. Anderson, Kings and Kingship, 241.
144. Goodall, Scotichronicon, II, 215, 216.
145. Lineham, "A Spanish Manuscript", 122, 113.
This definition is also found in the phrase "Albaniae que nunc Scotia dicitur" from the Chronicle of the Canons of Huntingdon, in Documents and Records Illustrative of the History of Scotland, ed., Francis Palgrave, p.99.
146. Skene, Fordun, I, 294.
147. Ibid., I, 64.
148. Ibid., I, 40.
149. Ibid., I, 132.
150. Joseph Stephenson, ed., Chronica de Mailros e codice unico, Bannatyne Club (Edinburgh: 1835)
151. Chronicon Coenobii Sanctae Crucis Edinburgensis, Bannatyne Club (Edinburgh: 1828)
152. G.W.S. Barrow with W.W. Scott, Acts of William I, King of Scots, 1165-1214 (Edinburgh: 1971) 76.
153. G.W.S. Barrow, Robert Bruce and the Community of the Realm of Scotland (Edinburgh: 1976) 7.
154. Skene, Fordun, I, 307.
155. Ibid., I, 40.
156. Ibid., I, 8.
157. Ibid., I, 301-302.
158. Barbara Crawford, "The Pawning of Orkney and Shetland: a reconsideration of the events of 1460-9", SHR, XLVIII (1969) 40.
159. Skene, Fordun, I, 43-45.

160. Fordun's History of Scotland: A Post-Reformation Forgery (Peebles: 1886) 15, 27, 34.
161. Cowan, "The Scottish Chronicle", 8.
162. A.A.M. Duncan and A.L. Brown, "Argyll and the Isles in the Earlier Middle Ages", PSAS, XL (1956-1957) 208 fn.
163. William W. Ireland, "A Visit to Eilach-an-naoimh (Hinba)", PSAS XXXVII (1902-1903) 192.
164. Skene, Fordun, I, 40-41.
165. Cowan, "Myth and Identity", for the development of the Scota myth.
166. Skene, Fordun, I, 155.
167. Ibid., I, 157.
168. Ibid., I, 158.
169. Ibid., I, 158.
170. Ibid., I, 58.
171. Stephenson, Mailros, 69.
172. Skene, Fordun, I, 167.
173. Ibid., I, 168.
174. Ibid., I, 256-257.
175. Ibid., I, 42.
176. G.W.S. Barrow, "The Highlands of Scotland in the Lifetime of Robert the Bruce, 1274-1329", The Stewarts, XII (1964-7) 26.
177. G.W.S. Barrow, The Kingdom of the Scots: Government, Church and Society from the Eleventh to the Fourteenth Century (London: 1973) 363.
178. Skene, Fordun, I, 42.
179. Ibid., I, 117.
180. Ibid., I, 294.
181. Nicholson, Scotland, 184.
182. Skene, Fordun, I, 9.
183. Ibid., I, 42.
184. Barrow, "The Highlands", 33.
185. P. Hume Brown, Early Travellers in Scotland (Edinburgh: 1973) maps following p.xxvi.

186. Skene, Fordun, I, 301. Skene says that insimul should be insulis.
187. Ibid., I, 42.
188. Ibid., I, 333.
189. Ibid., I, 360.
190. Ibid., I, 88.
191. Ibid., I, 24. This passage raises the question of how well Fordun compared the different stories he found in conflicting sources; if the Scots had taken over in Ireland in their three settlements there, who were the Irish who stole the stone only to be conquered?
192. Ibid., I, 45.
193. Ibid., I, 340.
194. Ibid., I, 354.
195. Ibid., I, 144.
196. Ibid., I, 144.
197. Ibid., I, 172.
198. Ibid., I, 180.
199. Ibid., I, 181.
200. Lewis Thorpe, trans., Einhard and Notker the Stammerer: Two Lives of Charlemagne (Harmondsworth: 1974) 93-94.
201. Ibid., I, 25.
202. Ibid., I, 93.
203. Skene, Fordun, I, 334. Both Gallicanae and Anglicanae are found in the manuscripts.
204. Ibid., I, 330.
205. Ibid., I, 352.
206. Ibid., I, 159.
207. Ibid., I, 347.
208. Ibid., I, 348.
209. Ibid., I, 240. Fordun abridged Ailred's Lament; this sentence is in Pinkerton's edition of the lament. (p.440)
210. Ibid., I, 371.
211. Ibid., I, 110-111.

212. Ibid., I, 292.
213. Ibid., I, 104-105.
214. Ibid., I, 104, 105, 131, 132-133, 137-138.
215. Ibid., I, 332.
216. Ibid., I, 364.
217. Ibid., I, 383.
218. Nicholson, Scotland, 197-198.
219. Ferguson, Scotland's Relations, 22.
220. Skene, Fordun, I, xxxvii.
221. Ibid., I, 399.
222. Ibid., I, 178-179.
223. Ibid., I, 209.
224. Ibid., I, 209.
225. Ibid., I, 272-273.
226. Ibid., I, 374.
227. Ibid., I, 354.
228. Ibid., I, 328.
229. Ibid., I, 344.
230. Ibid., I, 270.
231. Ibid., I, 339.
232. Ibid., I, 148.
233. Ibid., I, 151.
234. Ibid., I, 176.
235. Ibid., I, 335.
236. Ibid., I, 375.
237. Ibid., I, 179.
238. Ibid., I, 346.
239. Ibid., I, 263.
240. Ibid., I, 279.

- 241. Ibid., I, 259.
- 242. Ibid., I, 113.
- 243. Ibid., I, 298-299.
- 244. Ibid., I, 288.
- 245. Ibid., I, 332.
- 246. Nicholson, Scotland, 191.
- 247. Skene, Fordun, I, xxxviii.
- 248. Ibid., I, 374.
Nicholson, Scotland, 194.

Chapter 2

- 1. Although Bower seems to have titled both his works the Scotichronicon, I have chosen to call the printed version the Scotichronicon and the revised text the Book of Cupar in order to differentiate between them. I refer to Goodall's edition rather than to the Corpus Christi MS or one of the copies of it because the printed text is the more readily available. *The Book of Cupar is Advocates MS. 35.17.*
- 2. Bower, Cupar, 390.
- 3. D.E. Easson and Angus MacDonald, Charters of the Abbey of Inchcolm (Edinburgh: 1938) 40-41.
- 4. Bower, Cupar, 439.
- 5. Ibid., 439.
- 6. Watt, Dictionary, 51.
- 7. Goodall, Scotichronicon, I, 373.
- 8. Ibid., I, 373-374.
- 9. Easson, Charters, 237.
David Murray, The Black Book of Paisley and Other Manuscripts of the Scotichronicon (Paisley: 1885) 4.
- 10. Easson, Charters, 40-41.
- 11. Bower, Cupar, 343.
- 12. Goodall, Scotichronicon, I, 373.
- 13. Alan Reid, Inchcolm Abbey: A Notable Fifeshire Ruin (Dunfermline: 1901) 51.
- 14. Goodall, Scotichronicon, II, 458.
- 15. Annie I. Dunlop, ed., Calendar of Scottish Supplications to Rome 1423-1428 (Edinburgh: 1956) II, 4-5.

16. H.A.M. Duff, An Aspect of Scottish Monasticism: The Houses of the Order of St Augustine, 1418-1488, MLitt, University of Glasgow (1977) 161-162.
17. E.R. Lindsay and A.I. Cameron, ed., Scottish Supplications (Edinburgh: 1934) I, 232-233.
18. Lindsay, Scottish Supplications, I, 232-233.
19. Ian B. Cowan and David E. Easson, Medieval Religious Houses (London: 1976) 89.
20. Duff, Monasticism, 162.
21. Dunlop, Scottish Supplications, II, 4-5.
22. Duff, Monasticism, 170, 169.
23. Annie I. Cameron, The Apostolic Camera and Scottish Benefices 1418-1488 (Oxford: 1934) 20.
24. Ibid., 21.
25. J.A. Twemlow, Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers Relating to Great Britain and Ireland (London: 1909) VIII, 672.
26. Calendar of Scottish Supplications to Rome (MS) fo.411,156^v.
I am indebted to Dr. Ian B. Cowan for this reference.
27. Twemlow, Registers, VIII, 672.
28. Easson, Charters, 42.
29. Ibid., 45.
30. Ibid., 53.
31. Ian B. Cowan, The Parishes of Medieval Scotland (Edinburgh:1967) 43.
32. Lindsay, Scottish Supplication, I, 195.
33. Ibid., 195.
34. Twemlow, Registers, VII, 144.
Lindsay, Scottish Supplications, I, 212-213.
35. Easson, Charters, 170.
36. Ibid., 51.
37. Dunlop, Scottish Supplications, II, 155.
38. Easson, Charters, 56.
39. Ibid., 238.
40. Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, II, 5.

41. Goodall, Scotichronicon, II, 482.
42. E.W.M. Balfour-Melville, James I, King of Scots 1406-1437 (London: 1936) 120.
43. Ranald Nicholson translated roborea as extortion in Scotland, 287.
44. Bower, Cupar, 420.
45. Goodall, Scotichronicon, II, 488.
46. K.A. Steer and J.W.M. Bannerman, Late Medieval Monumental Sculpture in the West Highlands (Edinburgh: 1977) 148-149.
Goodall, Scotichronicon, II, 490.
47. APS, II, 20.
48. Goodall, Scotichronicon, II, 482.
49. Exchequer Rolls, IV, 654.
50. Goodall, Scotichronicon, II, 482.
51. Ibid., II, 485.
52. Ibid., II, 486.
53. Ibid., II, 486-487.
54. Ibid., II, 499.
55. APS, II, 22-23.
56. A.A.M. Duncan, James I: 1424-1437 (University of Glasgow: 1976) 21.
57. Easson Charters, 56.
58. Goodall, Scotichronicon, II, 473.
59. Easson, Charters, 57.
60. Goodall, Scotichronicon, I, iii.
61. Ibid., I, 10.
62. Ibid., I, 366. The entry on Kennedy ends with a reference to his first mass in the Book of Cupar and in the Corpus Christi MS of the Scotichronicon, as well as several other manuscripts. Dr. Watt is of the opinion that the scribe Magnus Makculloch added the extra information about events following Bower's death which was included by Goodall in his edition.
63. Ibid., II, 151.
64. Ibid., II, 479.
65. Ibid., II, 490.

66. Ibid., II, 502.
67. Ibid., II, 481.
68. J.B. Paul, The Register of the Great Seal of Scotland (Edinburgh: 1882) II, 23.
69. W. Chambers, Story of the Setons (1879) 5-6.
70. Bower, Cupar, 369.
71. B.G. Seton, The House of Seton (1939) I, 108.
72. Bower, Cupar, 284.
73. Goodall, Scotichronicon, II, 406.
74. Bower, Cupar, 236.
75. Ibid., 432.
76. D.E.R. Watt, letter, 15 May, 1978.
77. Bower, Cupar, 390.
78. M.R. James, A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge (Cambridge:1912) 394.
79. Bower, Cupar, "Prologue", 6.
80. W.M. Mackenzie, The Poems of William Dunbar (London: 1970) xv.
81. James, Catalogue, 394. The author of the Book of Pluscarden, an abridgement of the Scotichronicon, stated that the compilers of the original work were John of Fordun and Walter "Bouwar", abbot of Inchcolm. (Book of Pluscarden, I, 5.)
82. Goodall, Scotichronicon, I, iv.
83. This sentence is found in all extant manuscripts of the Scotichronicon except the Black Book of Paisley (Royal MS 13.E.X); as this is not the only example of differences between this manuscript and the rest it seems likely that the sentence was added by Bower, although it is also not found in the Book of Cupar. It is a play on the sentence from the Revelationes of St Brigit, "Non tuus est Christus cui liber non placet iste." (Murray, Paisley, 27)
84. Bower always called this work the Scotichronicon when referring to it in the Book of Cupar. Its title was not given to it by later scribes as implied by Thomas Innes in his Critical Essay ... (Edinburgh: 1879) 127.
85. Goodall, Scotichronicon, I, iv.
86. Ibid., I, 339, 379.
87. Bower, Cupar, 1.

88. Skene, Fordun, I, xviii.
89. Bower gave a short lament for David I, then referred the reader to the Scotichronicon, Book V, chapter 45 and the fourteen chapters which follow. (Cupar, 146)
90. Ibid., 433.
91. For example, see Cupar, 234, 282, 298, 326, 378.
92. For example, there is a space left in the text where the Latin translation of Edward I's outburst in French was supposed to be inserted. (Cupar, 280) Similarly, a space was left for the name of Wallace's father which was filled in by a different hand. (Cupar, 287) A space was left for another name on page 415.
93. This entry should have gone either at the end of Book XXXIV or the beginning of Book XXXV.
94. Bower, Cupar, 1-2.
95. Goodall, Scotichronicon, II, 126.
96. Ibid., I, 388.
97. Ibid., II, 54.
98. Ibid., II, 7-8.
99. Ibid., II, 160.
100. Ibid., II, 431.
101. Ibid., I, 356.
102. Ibid., I, 293.
103. Ibid., I, 167.
104. Ibid., I, 366.
105. Ibid., II, 174.
106. Ibid., II, 173.
107. Ibid., II, 175.
108. Ibid., II, 223.
109. Ibid., II, 234.
110. Ibid., II, 227.
111. Ibid., II, 230.
112. Ibid., II, 229.

112. Ibid., II, 229.
113. Ibid., II, 161.
114. Ibid., II, 191.
115. Ibid., II, 191.
116. Ibid., I, 534-535.
117. Ibid., II, 457.
118. Ibid., I, 18.
119. Ibid., II, 49.
120. Ibid., II, 387.
121. Ibid., II, 86-89.
122. Ibid., II, 86-89.
123. Ibid., I, 390.
124. Ibid., I, 472.
125. Ibid., II, 113.
126. Bower, Cupar, 437.
127. Goodall, Scotichronicon, II, 106-107.
128. Ibid., II, 440.
129. Ibid., II, 81.
130. Ibid., II, 366.
131. Ibid., II, 152.
132. Ibid., II, 397.
133. Ibid., I, 355.
134. Duncan, James I, 1.
135. Goodall, Scotichronicon, II, 473.
136. Bower, Cupar, 82.
137. Ibid., 13, 81. This verse is also to be found in an abridgement of the Scotichronicon done in 1501 by John Gibson; there it continues to the "modern" king, James I. (ADV. MS. 35.6.8, fo.1-6^v).
138. Goodall, Scotichronicon, II, 491.
139. Ibid., II, 82.

140. Ibid., II, 491.
141. Ibid., II, 491.
142. Ibid., I, 234.
143. Ibid., II, 380.
144. Bower, Cupar, 422.
145. Goodall, Scotichronicon, II, 241.
146. Ibid., II, 308.
147. Ibid., II, 248.
148. Ibid., II, 305.
149. Ibid., II, 313.
150. Ibid., II, 316.
151. Ibid., II, 321.
152. Bower, Cupar, 329-330.
153. Goodall, Scotichronicon, II, 356.
154. Ibid., I, 311.
155. Bower, Cupar, 13.
156. Ibid., 311.
157. Goodall, Scotichronicon, II, 166.
158. Ibid., I, 318.
159. Bower, Cupar, 235.
160. Goodall, Scotichronicon, II, 367.
161. Ibid., II, 368.
162. Peter Chalmers, Historical and Statistical Account of Dunfermline
(Edinburgh: 1859) II, 422.
163. Goodall, Scotichronicon, II, 447.
164. Ibid., II, 157.
165. Ibid., II, 174.
166. Bower, Cupar, 355.
167. Goodall, Scotichronicon, II, 304.

168. Ibid., II, 343.
169. Ibid., II, 343.
170. Bower, Cupar, 331.
171. Goodall, Scotichronicon, II, 247.
172. Ibid., II, 110.
173. Ibid., II, 238.
174. Ibid., II, 164.
175. Ibid., II, 236.
176. Ibid., II, 37.
177. Ibid., II, 309.
178. Ibid., II, 309.
179. Ibid., II, 309.
180. Ibid., II, 423.
181. Ibid., I, 477.
182. Ibid., I, 477.
183. Ibid., II, 31.
184. Ibid., II, 54.
185. Ibid., II, 17.
186. Ibid., II, 160.
187. Ibid., II, 161.
188. Ibid., II, 163-164.
189. Ibid., II, 97-98.
190. John Durkan, "The University of Glasgow and the Catholic Church", Scottish Catholic History Society (1950) 1.
191. John Durkan, The Scottish Universities in the Middle Ages 1413-1560, PhD, University of Edinburgh (1959) 7.
192. APS, II, 7.
193. T.M.A. Macnab, "The Beginnings of Lollardy in Scotland", Records of the Scottish Church History Society, XI (1955) 258.
194. Lawrence Moonan, "Pavel Kravar and Some Writings Once Attributed to Him", IR, XXVII (1976) 8.

195. Ibid., 19.
196. Goodall, Scotichronicon, I, 440-441.
197. Ibid., II, 479.
198. Ibid., II, 481.
199. Ibid., II, 250-251.
200. Bower, Cupar, 196.
201. Goodall, Scotichronicon, II, 69.
202. Bower, Cupar, 378.
203. Goodall, Scotichronicon, II, 362.
204. Bower, Cupar, 432.
205. Goodall, Scotichronicon, II, 517.

Chapter 3

1. Innes, A Critical Essay, 343.
2. Goodall, Scotichronicon, I, 339.
Liber Cartarum Prioratus Sancti Andree in Scotia e Registro Ipso
in Archivis Baronum de Panmure (Edinburgh: 1841) 23.
3. The dates of all the manuscripts mentioned in this paragraph are taken from a circular sent out by Dr. Watt on 5 October, 1977.
The Black Book of Paisley is British Library MS. Royal 13.E.X.
4. Dr. Watt, letter, 15 May 1978.
5. MS. Donibristle, now on loan to Dr. Watt in St Andrews.
6. MS. Brechin Castle, now in the Scottish Record Office.
British Library MS. Harleian 712.
MS. Edinburgh College Library.
7. Hearne, Fordun, lvii-lviii.
8. Dr. Watt, letter, 24 July 1978.
9. Hearne, Fordun, lvi.
10. NLS, Advocates MS. 35.6.7, fo.1^r.
11. Ibid., fo.263^r.
12. Skene, Fordun, I, xx.
13. Advocates MS. 35.6.7, fos. 57^v, 58^r.
14. William Skene, "Notices of the Existing Manuscripts of Fordun's
Scotichronicon", P.S.A.S., VIII(1869-1870) 253,254.

15. British Library, Harleian 4764.
16. Advocates MS. 35.6.8, fo. 287^v, 288^r.
17. Bower, Cupar, 13.
18. Edinburgh University Library Dc.7.63, fo. 27^v.
19. Ibid., fo.12^r.
20. For further information on John Law, see John Durkan, "St Andrews in the John Law Chronicle", IR, XXV (1974).
21. Dc.7.63, fo.44^r.
22. Ibid., fo. 141^r.
23. Durkan, "John Law", 49.
24. Skene, Fordun, I, xxix-xxx.
25. Ibid., I, xxxiii.
26. NLS, Temp. Dep. 1574 (from the Catholic Library, Edinburgh)
cf. Skene, Fordun, I, xxviii.
27. Temp. Dep. 1574, fo. 156^v-157^r.
28. NLS, Advocates MS. 35.6.13; this was printed, with many of the
marginal notes included as part of the text, in Extracta e
Variis Cronicis Scociae, Abbotsford Club (Edinburgh:1842).
29. Adv. MS. 35.6.13, fo.212^r.
30. Ibid., fo. 1^r.
31. Ibid., fo. 145^v.
32. Ibid., fo. 77, 78.
33. Ibid., fo. 230^r.
34. Some of these passages can be found in A. Myln's History of the
Bishops of Dunkeld; the editor of the Extracta suggested that
Myln had copied them verbatim from the Extracta.
35. Adv. MS. 35.6.13, fo. 116^r-116^v.
36. I am indebted to Dr. Bannerman for this information.
37. Felix Skene, Liber Pluscardensis (Edinburgh: 1877) I, 5.
38. Ibid., I, xii, MS. Cavers.
39. Richard Hay, "Scocia Sacra", NLS, Advocates MS. 34.1.8.
40. R. Somerville, "Translation of the Liber Pluscardensis", SHR
(1928) 377.

41. Skene, Liber Pluscardensis, I, 4.
42. John MacQueen, "The Literature of Fifteenth Century Scotland", in Jennifer M. Brown, ed., Scottish Society in the Fifteenth Century (London: 1977) 202.
43. Somerville, "Translation", 377.
44. Skene, Fordun, I, xxii.
NLS, "Catalogue of Manuscripts: Historical," 6.
45. Hay, Scocia, 174.
Skene, "Manuscripts of Fordun", 251.
46. William Skene, "Notice of the Probable Author of the Unpublished History of Scotland, Erroneously Attributed to Bishop Elphinstone of Aberdeen", PSAS, IX, (1871-1872) passim.
Skene, Liber Pluscardensis, I, xix-xxi; II, xxiv-xxvi.
47. Bower, Scotichronicon, II, xxi-xxiii.
48. Skene, Liber Pluscardensis, I, 381.
49. Ibid., II, 485.
50. Ibid., I, 4.
51. Ibid., I, 5.
52. Goodall, Scotichronicon, II, 432.
53. Skene, Liber Pluscardensis, I, 314.
54. Ibid., I, 342.
55. Skene, Fordun, I, 325.
Goodall, Scotichronicon, II, 165.
56. Skene, Liber Pluscardensis, I, 149.
57. I used Advocates MS. 35.5.2, NLS; there were only a few differences Skene had not noted.
58. Lewis and Short translate respublica as the commonweal, a commonwealth, state, or republic; the Oxford English Dictionary traces the etymology of Commonwealth back to respublica.
59. Skene, Liber Pluscardensis, I, 85.
60. Ibid., I, 141.
61. Ibid., I, 158.
62. Skene, Fordun, I, 256.
63. Skene, Liber Pluscardensis, I, 112.

64. Ibid., I, 391.
65. Ibid., I, 391.
66. Ibid., I, 391.
67. MacQueen, "Literature", 203.
68. George Neilson and Henry Paton, Acta Dominorum Concilii (Edinburgh: 1918) II, xxii.
69. Skene, Liber Pluscardensis, I, 29-30.
70. Ibid., I, 136.
71. Ibid., I, 141.
72. Ibid., I, 142.
73. Ibid., I, 153.
74. Ibid., I, 240.
75. Ibid., I, 298.
76. Ibid., I, 42.
77. Ibid., I, 36.
78. Ibid., I, 67-68.
79. Ibid., I, 110.
80. Ibid., I, 140, 338-339.
81. Ibid., I, 379.
82. Ibid., I, 5.
83. Ibid., I, xxxv.
84. Ibid., I, 381-382.
85. Ibid., I, 139.
86. Ibid., I, 88-89.
87. Ibid., I, 86.
88. Ibid., I, 357.
89. Ibid., I, 359.
90. Ibid., I, 364.
91. Skene, "Probable Author", 449-450.
92. Skene, Liber Pluscardensis, I, 356.

93. The editor suggested that this break was due to Buchanan's having died before he could finish the book, but this is impossible, unless he intended to return to the biography after finishing his history.
94. The passage from Fordun's Book II in which he compared the Lowlanders and the Highlanders is on Adv. MS. 35.5.2, fo.11^v.
95. Skene, Liber Pluscardensis, I, 330-331.
96. Ibid., I, 375.
97. Ibid., I, 81.
98. Ibid., I, xx.
99. Ibid., I, 331.
100. Ibid., I, 305.
101. Nicholson, "David II", 75.
102. Skene, Liber Pluscardensis, I, 291.
103. Ibid., I, 293.
104. Ibid., I, 294.
105. Ibid., I, 306.
106. Ibid., I, 306.
107. Ibid., I, 307.
108. Ibid., I, 307.
109. Ibid., I, 287.
110. Ibid., I, 311.
111. Ibid., I, 329.
112. Ibid., I, 3.
113. Ibid., I, 223.
114. Ibid., I, 301.
115. Ibid., I, 365.
116. Ibid., I, 322.
117. Ibid., I, 3-4.
118. Ibid., I, 4.

Chapter 4

1. Nicholson, Scotland, 278.

2. MacQueen, "Literature", 185.
3. Francis J. Amours, The Original Chronicle of Andrew of Wyntoun (Edinburgh: 1914) II, 8.
4. Ibid., I, xxxiii.
5. Ibid., II 6.
6. Ibid., I, xxxi.
7. Ibid., I, xxvii.
8. Francis J. Amours, "St Serf's Priory in Lochleven", Proc. Royal Philosophical Soc. of Glasgow, XXXVII, (1905-1906) 15.
9. Cowan and Easson, Medieval Religious Houses, 93.
10. Amours, "St Serf's", 21.
11. See: Amours, "St Serf's", 24-27.
Liber Cartarum Sancti Andree, 2-13, 15-19, 21.
12. Amours, "St. Serf's", 24.
Liber Cartarum Sancti Andree, 114-116.
13. Amours, Wyntoun, I, xxxvi.
14. Ibid., IV, 323.
15. Ibid., I, xxxi.
16. See Amour's introduction to his edition of Wyntoun.
17. Ibid., VI, 259.
18. Ibid., II, 8.
19. Ibid., II, 4.
20. Ibid., V, 147-149.
21. Ibid., V, 45.
22. Ibid., VI, 356-357 fn.
23. Ibid., III, 5.
24. Ibid., VI, 348.
25. Ibid., II, 251.
26. Ibid., II, 10.
27. Ibid., I, lxix.
David Irving, The History of Scottish Poetry (Edinburgh: 1861) 121.
Nora K. Chadwick, "The Story of Macbeth", Scottish Gaelic Studies VI (1949) and VII (1953).

28. There is some debate about whether Barbour wrote the Brut or not.
See: J.T.T. Brown, The Wallace and the Bruce Restudied (Bonn: 1900)
William Mackenzie, ed., The Bruce by John Barbour (London: 1909)
George Neilson, John Barbour, Poet and Translator (London: 1900)
29. cf. Innes, A Critical Essay, 142.
30. Amours, Wyntoun, VI, 356-357 fn.
31. See: Nicholson, "David II".
32. David Laing, The Orygynale Cronykil of Scotland (Edinburgh:1872) II,466.
33. Ibid., II, 476.
34. Ibid., II, 498.
35. Ibid., II, 501.
36. Ibid.; II, 506.
37. Ibid., II, 456.
38. Ibid., III, 44.
39. Amours, Wyntoun, IV, 307.
40. Ibid., V, 45.
41. Laing, Cronykil, II, 379.
42. Ibid., II, 232.
43. Ibid., II, 254.
44. Ibid., II, 76.
45. Ibid., II, 76.
46. Laing, Cronykil, II, 146-147.
47. Ibid., II, 144.
48. Ibid., III, 99.
49. Amours, Wyntoun, VI, 235.
50. Laing, Cronykil, III, 99
51. Ibid., II, 154.
52. Amours, Wyntoun, V, 147.
53. Laing, Cronykil, II, 147.
54. Ibid., II, 168. Wyntoun was not unique in this second definition, as it was one of the secondary meanings of "croune" given in the DOST, I, 750.

55. Ibid., II, 262.
56. Amours, Wyntoun, V, 41.
57. Laing, Cronykil, II, 190.
58. Ibid., II, 343.
59. Amours, Wyntoun, VI, 244.
60. Laing, Cronykil, II, 228.
61. Ibid., II, 286.
62. Ibid., II, 143.
63. Ibid., II, 326.
64. Amours, Wyntoun, IV, 345.
65. Laing, Cronykil, III, 60.
66. Ibid., II, 49.
67. Ibid., II, 487.
68. For instance, Goodall, Scotichronicon, II, 151.
69. Laing, Cronykil, II, 312.
70. Ibid., II, 202.
71. Ibid., II, 83.
72. Amours, Wyntoun, V, 284.
73. Laing, Cronykil, II, 364.
74. Ibid., II, 447.
75. Ibid., II, 460.
76. Ibid., II, 439.
77. Ibid., II, 400.
78. Ibid., II, 400.
79. Ibid., II, 63-64.
80. Marc Bloch, Feudal Society, trans., L.A. Manyon, (Chicago:1970) I, 88-89.
81. MacQueen, "Scottish Literature", 185.
82. Laing, Cronykil, I, 93.
83. Amours, Wyntoun, II, 191.

84. Ibid., II, 199-201.
85. Ibid., II, 205.
86. Laing, Cronykil, I, 99.
87. Amours, Wyntoun, II, 347.
88. Laing, Cronykil, I, 214.
89. Amours, Wyntoun, III, 87-89.
90. Ibid., III, 139.
91. Ibid., III, 141.
92. Laing, Wyntoun, I, 238.
93. Anderson, Kings and Kingship, 63.
94. Laing, Wyntoun, I, 279.
95. Ibid., I, 240.
96. Ibid., I, 151.
97. Ibid., I, 239.
98. Ibid., II, 65.
99. Ibid., I, 241.
100. Ibid., II, 65.
101. Ibid., II, 66.
102. Ibid., II, 83-84.
103. Amours, Wyntoun, II, 111-113.
104. Ibid., III, 136.
105. Laing, Cronykil, III, 58.
106. Ibid., III, 63.
107. Ibid., III, 55.
108. Amours, Wyntoun, VI, 378.
109. Laing, Cronykil, II, 457.
110. Ibid., II, 398.
111. Ibid., II, 488.
112. Ibid., II, 438.

113. Ibid., II, 457.
114. Ibid., II, 439.
115. Ibid., II, 192, 450; III, 115.
116. Ibid., II, 348.
117. Ibid., II, 389.
118. Ibid., II, 401.
119. Ibid., II, 402.
120. Ibid., II, 403.
121. Ibid., II, 357-358.
122. Amours, Wyntoun, V, 343.
123. Laing, Cronykil, II, 163.
124. Ibid., II, 287.
125. Ibid., II, 287.
126. Ibid., I, 168.
127. Ibid., I, 168.
128. Ibid., II, 337.
129. Ibid., II, 392.
130. Ibid., II, 408.
131. Ibid., II, 485.
132. Amours, Wyntoun, IV, 366.
133. See: Chadwick, "The Story of Macbeth" for Wyntoun's use of traditional oral prose saga.
134. Laing, Cronykil, II, 323-324, 325.
135. Ibid., II, 131.
136. Ibid., II, 129.
137. Amours, Wyntoun, IV, 259, 275, 279-281.
138. Ibid., IV, 273-275.
139. See: Liber Prioratus Sancti Andree, 114.
140. Amours, Wyntoun, IV, 261.
141. Laing, Wyntoun, II, 309.

142. Amours, Wyntoun, VI, 221.
143. Laing, Cronykil, II, 278.
For a discussion of Wyntoun's error, see: Joseph Anderson, "Notes Regarding the Death of the Princess Margaret, "The Maiden of Norway" In AD 1290, and "the False Margaret", PSAS, X.
144. Laing, Cronykil, II, 463.
145. Amours, Wyntoun, VI, 386.
146. Ibid., V, 284.
147. Laing, Cronykil, II, 333-334.
148. Amours, Wyntoun, IV, 362-364.
149. Laing, Cronykil, II, 370.
150. Ibid., III, 96.
151. Ibid., III, 56.
152. Ibid., III, 57.
153. Ibid., I, 373.
154. Ibid., I, 367.
155. Ibid., II, 64.
156. Ibid., II, 68.
157. Ibid., II, 69.

Chapter 5

1. W.A. Craigie, The Asloan Manuscript, A Miscellany in Prose and Verse Written by John Asloan in the Reign of James the Fifth. (Edinburgh: 1923), I, 197.
2. Ibid., I, 265-266.
3. This is either a translation or a copy of a translation of a Latin chronicle. The original may not be extant, but a copy of the Latin can be found in the Pannure Codex which is in the possession of the earl of Dalhousie. A transcript of this is in Register House: "The Chronicle of Norway, etc", RH2/8/4, and a microfilm of the Codex, RH4/74.
The "Brevis Chronica" appended to a manuscript of Wyntoun's verse (NLS, Advocates MS. 19.2.4) is supposed to have been written circe 1530. Up to a certain point, it is more or less a copy of the "scottis cronikle"; it then becomes increasingly dependent on Hector Boece's Scotorum Historiae, and sporadically gave book and chapter references to Boece's work without ever naming it.
4. Craigie, Asloan, I, 249-250, 253.

5. Ibid., I, 253.
6. Ibid., I, 261.
7. Ibid., I, 264.
8. Ibid., I, 265.
9. Ibid., I, vii.
10. Norman Macdougall, "The Sources: a reappraisal of the legend", in Scottish Society in the Fifteenth Century, 12. Exchequer Rolls, II, xxxvi.
11. Thomas Thompson, ed., The Auchinleck Chronicle, Ane Schort Memoriale of the Scottis Corniklis for Addicioun ... (Edinburgh: 1819) 20.
12. John Durkan and James Kirk, The University of Glasgow 1451-1577 (Glasgow: 1977) 7-8.
13. Thomson, Auchinleck, 27.
14. Ibid., 3.
15. Craigie, Asloan, I, vii.
16. The Bannatyne Miscellany ... (Edinburgh: 1855) III, 196.
17. British Library, Royal MS. 17.d.xx, fo. 299^r.
18. Craigie, Asloan, I, 185.
19. Bannatyne Miscellany, III, 35.
20. Royal MS. 17.d.xx, fo. 299^r. Another author, also concerned by the story that the race had taken its name from a woman, explained that Scota had taken her name from her husband's race, as was then the custom. R.A.S. MacAlister, ed. and trans., Lebor Gabala Erenn: The Book of the Taking of Ireland (Dublin: 1931) II, 41.
21. Craigie, Asloan, I, 186.
22. Royal MS. 17.d.xx, fo. 299^v-300^r.
23. Ibid., fo. 299^{r-v}.
24. Ibid., fo. 229^v.
25. Ibid., fo. 300^r.
26. Ibid., fo. 299^v.
27. Bannatyne Miscellany, III, 37.
28. Royal MS. 17.d.xx, fo. 300^r.
29. Ibid., fo. 300^v.

30. Bannatyne Miscellany, III, 36.
31. Royal MS. 17.d.xx, fo. 300^v.
32. Ibid., fo. 301^r.
33. Bannatyne Miscellany, III, 38.
34. Royal MS. 17.d.xx, 301^r.
35. Ibid., fo. 301^r.
36. Ibid., fo. 301^v.
Craigie, Asloan, I, 190.
37. Royal MS. 17.d.xx, fo. 302^r.
38. Ibid., fo. 302^v-303^r.
39. Ibid., fo. 302^v.
40. Ibid., fo. 303^v.
41. Macdougall, "Sources", 20.
42. Royal MS. 17.d.xx, fo. 307^v.
43. Ibid., fo. 308^r.
44. Ibid., fo. 299^r.
45. See: C. Innes, The Story of the Brus ... (Aberdeen: 1856)
George Neilson, John Barbour: Poet and Translator (London: 1900)
Walter S. Skeat, The Bruce ... (Edinburgh: 1894)
Watt, Dictionary, 28-29.
46. Innes, Brus, 319.
47. Watt, Dictionary, 29.
48. Innes, Brus, 3-4.
49. Ibid., 4.
50. Ibid., 27.
51. Skene, Fordun, 347.
52. Innes, Brus, 346.
53. Ibid., 49.
54. Ibid., 319-320.
55. Ibid., 319-320.
56. Ibid., 280.

57. Ibid., 281-282.
58. Ibid., 38.
59. Ibid., 283.
60. Ibid., 283.
61. Ibid., 11.
62. Ibid., 251.
63. Ibid., 16.
64. Ibid., 16.
65. Ibid., 126.
66. Ibid., 314.
67. Ibid., 352.
68. Ibid., 440.
69. Ibid., 433.
70. Ibid., 71.
71. Ibid., 360.
72. Ibid., 403.
73. Ibid., 442.
74. Ibid., 279.
75. Ibid., 281.
76. Ibid., 257.
77. Ibid., 413.
78. Ibid., 379.
79. Ibid., 6-7.
80. Ibid., 86.
81. Ibid., 255.
82. Ibid., 283.
83. Ibid., 304.
84. Ibid., 444.
85. Ibid., 445.

86. Ibid., 444.
87. Ibid., 468.
88. John Major, Historia Maioris Britanniae tam Angliae quam Scotiae ... (Paris: 1521) 74.
89. William B. Turnbull, ed., The Buik of the Croniclis of Scotland, translated by William Stewart (London: 1958) III, 162.
90. J.F. Miller, "Blind Hary's 'Wallace'" " Rec. Glasgow Bibliographical Soc., III (1913-1914) 3.
91. See: Matthew P. McDiarmid, Wallace.
McDiarmid, "The Date of the Wallace", SHR, XXXIV (1955)
92. cf. William H. Schofield, Mythical Bards and the Life of William Wallace (Cambridge: 1920)
93. J.T.T. Brown, The Wallace and the Bruce Restudied (Bonn: 1900) where he claimed the scribe, John Ramsay, was Hary's collaborator. George Neilson, "On Blind Harry's Wallace" in Essays and Studies by members of the English Association, A.C. Bradley, ed., (Oxford: 1910) He said that Ramsay's manuscript makes it plain he did not understand the poem, so he could not have been Hary's collaborator.
94. McDiarmid, Wallace, I, xxxix.
95. Ibid., I, lviii.
96. Ibid., I, lviii-lix.
97. McDiarmid, Wallace, I, xxxiv.
James Kinsley, Scottish Poetry: A Critical Survey (London: 1955) 7.
Neilson, "Wallace", 85.
James Moir, The Actis ... of ... Schir William Wallace... (Edinburgh: 1889) x.
Two who disagree are:
Thomas Warton, The History of English Poetry from the Eleventh to the Eighteenth Century (London: 1872) 212.
T.F. Henderson, Scottish Vernacular Literature: A Succinct History (London: 1900) 66-67, 73.
98. McDiarmid, Wallace, I, xxxvi.
99. Ibid., I, xxvi. For other suggestions, see:
Warton, English Poetry, 212.
Neilson, "Wallace", 111.
100. McDiarmid, Wallace, II, 122.
101. Ibid., I, li.
102. Ibid., II, 121.
103. Ibid., I, lxi.
104. Ibid., I, xxxvii.

105. Ibid., I, xxxviii.
106. Ibid., I, lxix.
107. Francis J. Child, The English and Scottish Popular Ballads (New York: 1956) III, 266.
108. McDiarmid, Wallace, I, lii.
109. R.L. Mackie, King James IV of Scotland: A Brief Survey of His Life and Times (Edinburgh: 1958) 25.
110. McDiarmid, Wallace, I, lv.
111. Ibid., I, 1.
112. Ibid., I, 29; II, 107.
113. Ibid., I, 218.
114. Ibid., I, 29.
115. Ibid., I, 182.
116. Ibid., II, 113-114.
117. Ibid., II, 117.
118. Ibid., I, 185.
119. Ibid., I, 197.
120. Ibid., II, 4-5.
121. Ibid., I, 219; II, 46.
122. Ibid., I, 249.
123. Ibid., I, 190.
124. Ibid., II, 112.
125. Ibid., I, 2.
126. Ibid., II, 55-56.
127. Ibid., II, 57.
128. Ibid., II, 58
129. Ibid., II, 48.
130. Ibid., I, 160.
131. Ibid., II, 18.
132. D.D. Murison, "Linguistic Relationships in Medieval Scotland" in The Scottish Tradition, G.W.S. Barrow, ed., (Edinburgh: 1974) 79.

133. McDiarmid, Wallace, I, 8.
134. Bower, Cupar, 291.
135. McDiarmid, Wallace, I, 243.
136. Ibid., I, 229.
137. Ibid., I, 243.
138. Bower, Cupar, 291.
139. McDiarmid, Wallace, II, 86-87.
140. Ibid., I, 245; II, 70.
141. The choice of this name may have been intended to compliment the earl of Douglas as the earls held these lands in France.
142. McDiarmid, Wallace, ii, 113.
143. Ibid., I, 3.
144. Ibid., I, 112.
145. Ibid., I, 60.
146. Ibid., I, 25.
147. Ibid., II, 99.
148. Ibid., I, 85.
149. Ibid., II, 120.
150. Ibid., I, 34.
151. Ibid., II, 102.
152. Ibid., I, 207.
153. Ibid., II, 118.
154. Ibid., I, 5.
155. Bower, Cupar, 287.
156. McDiarmid, Wallace, I, 141.
157. Ibid., II, 117.
158. Ibid., I, 135.
159. Ibid., II, 107.
160. Ibid., II, 115.
161. MacQueen, "Literature", 199.

162. McDiarmid, Wallace, I, 177.

163. Ferguson, Scotland's Relations, 44.

Chapter 6

1. Historia Maioris Britanniae tam Angliae quam Scoticae per Ioannem Maiorem ... (Paris: 1521).
I will discuss only the Historia here; for a list of Major's other works, see:
John Durkan, "John Major: After 400 Years", IR (1950)
2. Although Mair seems to have been the Scots name from which the Latin "Major" was derived, for convenience, I have chosen to use Major throughout the chapter.
As so many biographies of Major have been written, it did not seem necessary to repeat their information here. The following include biographies of Major:
Brown, Collected Essays of...Law, (Edinburgh: 1904)
J.H. Burns, "New Light on John Major", IR, V (1954)
Archibald Constable, trans, A History of Greater Britain as well England as Scotland (Edinburgh: 1892). Scottish History Society.
Durkan, "Major".
John Durkan, "Scottish Universities".
Durkan and Kirk, Glasgow, particularly 155-162.
Ronald G. Cant, "John Major" in Veterum Laudes: Being a Tribute to the Achievements of the Members of St Salvator's College During Five Hundred Years, ed., James B. Salmond (Edinburgh: 1950) 21-31.
Ricardo Garcia-Villoslada, La Universidad de Paris Durante Los Estudios de Vitoria O.P. 1507-1522. (Rome: 1938) 128-162.
3. Major, Historia, 76, 113, mention the date 1518.
Constable, History, 384 fn, suggests a later part of the narrative could not have been written until 1520.
4. Durkan, "Major", 132.
Burns, "New Light", 91.
Major wrote the dedication to the Historia at Montaigu College; Historia, aii.
5. James Burns, "The Scotland of John Major", IR, II (1951) 74-75.
6. Major, Historia, aii.
7. Ibid., 32.
8. Ibid., aii.
9. Ibid., aii.
10. Ibid., 60.
11. Ibid., 133.
12. Ibid., 132.
13. Ibid., 110.

14. Laing, Cornikle, II, 323.
15. John Durkan, "Scots National Feeling at Constance and Siena", IR, XVII (1966) 64.
16. Denys Hay, "The Use of the Term 'Great Britain' in the Middle Ages", PSAS, LXXXIX (1955-1956) 61.
17. Major, Historia, 1.
18. Ibid., 6.
19. Ibid., 7.
20. Ibid., 53.
21. Garcia Villoslada, La Universidad, 156.
22. Major, Historia, aii.
23. Ibid., 65.
24. Ibid., 136-137.
25. Ibid., 47.
26. Ibid., 78.
27. Ibid., 44.
28. Ibid., 57.
29. Ibid., 76.
30. Ibid., 76.
31. Ibid., 78.
32. Ibid., 77.
33. Ibid., 76.
34. Ibid., 77.
35. Ibid., 77.
36. Ibid., 71.
37. Ibid., 71.
38. Ibid., 87.
39. Ibid., 43, 64.
40. Ibid., 56.
41. Ibid., 128.

42. Ibid., 58.
43. Ibid., 135.
44. Ibid., 70.
45. Ibid., 96.
46. Ibid., 40.
47. Ibid., 56.
48. Ibid., 43.
49. Ibid., 96.
50. Ibid., 123.
51. Ibid., 36.
52. Ibid., 134.
53. Ibid., 14.
54. Ibid., 97.
55. Ibid., 19.
56. Ibid., 118.
57. Ibid., 73.
58. Ibid., 85.
59. Ibid., 99.
60. Ibid., 41.
61. Ibid., 72.
62. Ibid., 42.
63. Ibid., 130.
64. Durkan and Kirk, Glasgow, 159.
65. Major, Historia, 56.
66. Ibid., 27.
67. Ibid., 113.
68. Ibid., 139.
69. Ibid., 111.
70. Ibid., 139.

71. Ronald G. Cant, "Kingship in the Medieval Scottish Realm", Proc. Conference Scottish Studies, no.3 (Norfolk: 1976) 18.
72. Major, Historia, 17.
73. Ibid., 17.
74. Ibid., 5.
75. Ibid., 18.
76. Ibid., 18.
77. Ibid., 18, 21, 22.
78. Ibid., 23.
79. Ibid., 37.
80. Ibid., 37.
81. Ibid., 80.
82. Ibid., 13.
 Garcia-Villoslada said that Major insisted theologians think for themselves in La Universidad, 143-144.
 Law explained that Major praised independent thinkers and was proud of his own independence in Brown, Law, 118, 121.
83. Major, Historia, 60.
84. John MacQueen, "Some Aspects of the Early Renaissance in Scotland", Forum for Modern Language Studies, III (1967) 212.
85. Major, Historia, 69.
86. Ibid., 92.
87. Ibid., 91.
88. Ibid., 105.
89. Ibid., 60, 39.
90. Ibid., 54,
91. Ibid., 102-103.
92. Ibid., 126.
93. Ibid., 98.
94. Ibid., 14.
95. Ibid., 14.
96. Ibid., 13-14.

97. Ibid., 14-15.
98. Ibid., 136.
99. Ibid., 57.
100. Ibid., 15.
101. Ibid., 6.
102. Ibid., 16.
103. Ibid., 16.
104. Ibid., 81.
105. Ibid., 86.
106. Ibid., 16.
107. Ibid., 134.
108. Ibid., 112.
109. Ibid., 132.
110. Ibid., 132.
111. Ibid., 16.
112. Ibid., 12, 96.
113. Ibid., 142.
114. Ibid., 128.
115. John Bannerman, "The Lordship of the Isles", Scottish Society in the Fifteenth Century, ed., Brown, 213.
116. Gordon Donaldson, Scotland: James V-VII (Edinburgh: 1971) 41.
117. Major, Historia, 135.
118. Ibid., 80.
119. Ibid., 8.
120. Ibid., 38.
121. Ibid., 7.
122. Ibid., 8.
123. Ibid., 45.
124. Ibid., 8.
125. Ibid., 144.

126. Ibid., 145.
127. Ibid., 52-53, 54, 80.
128. Ibid., 100.
129. Ibid., 13.
130. Ibid., 105.
131. Ibid., 105.
132. Ibid., 29.
133. Ibid., 30.
134. Ibid., 45.
135. Ibid., 45.
136. Ibid., 50-51.
137. Ibid., 135.
138. Ibid., 126.
139. Ibid., 69.
140. Ibid., 74.
141. Ibid., 105.
142. Ibid., 105.
143. Ibid., 108.
144. Ibid., 106.
145. Ibid., 13.
146. Ibid., 9.
147. Ibid., 105.
148. Ibid., 106.
149. Ibid., 13.
150. Ibid., 67.
151. Ibid., 17, 37, 58, 114, 121.
152. Ibid., 83-84.
153. Ibid., 81.
154. Ibid., 66.

155. Ibid., 112.
156. Ibid., 112.
157. Ibid., 106.
158. Ibid., 13.
159. Ibid., 13.
160. Ibid., 78.
161. Ibid., 78.
162. Ibid., 67.
163. Ibid., 67.
164. Ibid., 67.
165. Ibid., 52.
166. Ibid., 9.
167. Ibid., 45.
168. Ibid., 48.
169. Ibid., 48.
170. Ibid., 129.
171. Ibid., 61.
172. Ibid., 81.
173. For Major's opinions on church government, see:
 J.H. Burns, "The Conciliarist Tradition in Scotland", SHR, XLII(1963)
 Cant, "Kingship".
 John Durkan, "The Cultural Background in Sixteenth Century Scotland",
IR, X (1959).
 Francis Oakley, "On the Road from Constance to 1688: The Political
 Thought of John Major and George Buchanan", Journal of British
 Studies. (1962).
174. Major, Historia, 30.
175. Ibid., 6.
176. John MacQueen, "National Spirit and Native Culture" in The Scottish
 Nation, ed., Gordon Menzies (London: 1972) 70.
177. Duncan, "Hector Boece", 6.
178. Gordon Donaldson, Scottish Kings (London: 1967) 147.
179. MacQueen, "National Spirit", 70.

180. Denys Hay, Polydore Vergil: Renaissance Historian and Man of Letters (Oxford: 1952) 88, 118.
181. Adam Abell's Chronicle, NLS MS. 1746.
William Turnbull, who translated Boece's Scotorum Historiae, cited Major's Historia twice to back up his points, once about the Douglasses and again, about how the king had wronged the earl of March (to whom Stewart had claimed to be distantly related). Turnbull, Stewart, III, 432, 464.
182. P. Hume Brown, George Buchanan: Humanist and Reformer: A Biography (Edinburgh: 1890) 42.
183. John Bellenden, The History and Chronicles of Scotland (Edinburgh: 1821) II, 300.
184. James Moir, Hectoris Boetii Murthlacensium et Aberdonensium Episcoporum Vitae (Aberdeen: 1894) 89.

Chapter 7

1. T.I. Rae, "The National Consciousness of Scottish Historians in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries", Scottish Historical Conference (1976).
2. Moir, Vitae, xi.
3. Hector Boece, Scotorum Historiae a Prima Gentis Origine ... (Paris: 1527) "Scotorum Regni Descriptio", 10.
4. Moir, Vitae, xi.
5. Ibid., 91-92.
6. Boece, Scotorum Historiae, 335.
7. John Durkan, "The Beginnings of Humanism in Scotland", reprinted from the Innes Review (1953) 2.
8. Moir, Vitae, 88.
9. Boece, Scotorum Historiae, 195.
10. Duncan, "Hector Boece", 8.
11. Durkan, "Humanism", 2.
12. P.S. Allen, Opus Epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterdami (Oxford: 1906) I, 156.
13. Durkan, "Scottish Universities", 553.
14. Allen, Erasmi, VIII, 372.
15. Ibid., VII, 399.
16. Ibid., VIII, 373.

17. P. Hume Brown, "A Forgotten Scholar of the Sixteenth Century", SHR, X (1913) 126.
18. "J.M.", "Florence Wilson: Erasmus: James Ogilvie, Parson of Cruden: Forbes of Tolquhon.", Notes and Queries, 2nd Series, VIII (Sept. 10, 1859) 204.
19. Durkan, "Humanism", 1.
20. Moir, Vitae, 89.
21. Durkan, "Scottish Universities", 551.
22. W. Douglas Simpson, "Hector Boece", Quatercentenary of the Death of Hector Boece, First Principal of the University (Aberdeen:1937) 15.
23. Durkan, "Scottish Universities", 522.
24. Ibid., 551.
25. Lateran Briafiso (Vatican Archives), Brev. Lat. 6, fo. 455^{r-v}.
I am indebted to Dr. Cowan for this reference.
26. Simpson, "Boece", 10.
27. Ibid., 25.
28. Boece, Scotorum Historiae, 21, 21-22.
29. Dic. Nat. Bio., II, 762.
30. Simpson, "Boece", 18.
31. Duncan, "Hector Boece", 7.
32. Durkan, "Cultural Background", 385.
33. John Durkan and Anthony Ross, Early Scottish Libraries (Glasgow: 1961) 123.
34. Simpson, "Boece", 28.
35. Moir, Vitae, 105.
36. Boece, Scotorum Historiae, 118.
37. Ibid., "Praefatio", aiii.
38. Ibid., 118.
39. Ibid., "Isagogem".
40. Ibid., "Praefatio", aiiii.
41. Ibid., 22, 30, 41, 118, 190.
42. George Watson, The Mar Lodge Translation of the History of Scotland by Hector Boece (Edinburgh: 1946) STS, for example, 140, 155, 160. The scribe also called him, "Schir Iohnne Campbell, Knicht, thesaurare to oure Soverane Lord". p.378.

43. E.J. Cowan provided much of this information on John Campbell.
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44. I am indebted to Dr. Bannerman for this information.
45. For the MacEwans as historians, see:
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46. Boece, Scotorum Historiae, 118.
47. Ibid., "Praefatio", aiii; see also:
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48. Barrow, Kingdom of the Scots, 218-219.
49. Duncan, "Hector Boece", 10.
50. See also:
J.B. Black, "Boece's Scotorum Historiae", Quatercentenary.
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60. Bellenden, History, I, xxxviii.
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63. Sheppard, "Bellenden", II, 425.
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65. Ibid., II, 383.

66. Ibid., II, 383.
67. Ibid., II, 380-381.
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81. Dic. Nat. Bio., II, 187.
82. Watson, Mar Lodge, vii, ix.
83. Thomas Miller, "The Skene Library at Mar Lodge, Braemar. A Notable Manuscript.", Juridical Review, XL (1928) 366-7, 369.
84. Turnbull, Stewart, I, xi; Stewart said he studied at St Andrews, III, 498.
85. Ibid., I, vii.
86. Ibid., III, 563. Stewart said he began on 18 April 1530.
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88. Ibid., II, 6.
89. Chambers and Seton, "Bellenden's Translation", 9.
90. cf. A.M. Kinghorn, The Chorus of History: Literary-Historical Relations in Renaissance Britain (london: 1971) 188.
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107. For example, Boece, Scotorum Historiae, 105.
108. Ibid., 173.
109. Ibid., 232-233.
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115. Ibid., 225.
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2. Skene, Fordun, I, 354.
3. Craigie, Asloan, I, 308.
4. See: Skene, Fordun, I, 360.
5. Goodall, Scotichronicon, I, 318.
6. Ibid., II, 3.
7. Ibid., II, 382.
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